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# HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

## FOR THE YEAR 1800.

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VOL. VII.

OF THE FIRST SERIES.

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Quid verum atque decens curo et rogo, et omnis in hoc sum.

The anonymous writer of the following article will, hence, perceive why some of his remarks are suppressed.

## REMARKS ON "A HISTORY OF SALEM."

THE learning, the respectability, the known merits of the Historical Society, awe an individual, and command respect to what is published under their sanction. Yet as it may be doubtful whether they feel responsible for every thing, which particular members, or correspondents, may communicate, it becomes a duty to point out any exceptionable passages in their publications. If this be not done, the weight of their influence may tend to give authority to error and pervert public opinion.

This, we hope, will apologize for a few remarks on "A History of Salem," published by the Historical Society.

Passing over several other things, the character given of Mr. Roger Williams particularly provokes examination. The portrait of him, drawn in this history, is so unlike that, left by his contemporaries and acquaintance, that were it not for the *name*, no mortal would imagine it designed for the same person. If the learned historian have any authorities for what he asserts, it would have been kind in him, and satisfactory to his readers, had he admitted them to see the new discovery for themselves. No authority is quoted. But in page 246 he says, though "Mr. Williams blamed the administration, *he did not oppose it.*"

In the same page he says, he "could be *persuaded*, but not compelled, to renounce his opinions." In page 249 he says, that, "In Salem every person loved Mr. Williams; that he had no personal enemies under any pretence." In page 245 he says, that Mr. Williams, "throughout all his life, supported a high place in their affections, as a truly godly man." Again he says, that "kind treatment could win him; that he always had address enough, with his firmness, never to be forsaken by the friends he had ever gained; that he breathed the purest devotion."

We will make no reflections, but appeal to several writers, who lived nearer the scene of action; some of whom saw this comet blazing in his eccentric orb. One of them, Morton, informs us that "Williams refused the oath of fidelity himself, and taught others so to do: that he also spake dangerous words against the patent, which was the foundation of the government."

Mather tells us, that this "hot-headed man publicly and *furiously* preached against the patent;" that "he violently *withstood* the oath of fidelity." I might quote from Governor Winthrop, Hutchinson, and Hubbard, to prove the same fact. Was not here opposition to the administration, as powerful as he could make?

Equally violent was his opposition to church administration. Morton says, that "he procured the church of Salem's consent unto letters of admonition, which were written and sent by him in their name to the churches of Boston, Charlestown, and Newtown." What Pontiff at Rome would have done more?

The same author informs us that Williams, "growing more violent, immured in his own house, sent a letter to his church, which was read in public, threatening that if they would not separate not only from the churches of Old England, but from the churches of New-England too, he would separate from them." The church did not comply with such a mad proposal, and therefore he did separate from *them*, and set up a meeting in "his own house, to which divers of the *weaker sort* repaired." Thus was he *forsaken*; yet the present historian asserts, "that he always had address enough—*never* to be *forsaken* by the

friends, he had *ever* gained." he also asserts that "In Salem every person loved him." Stubborn facts repel these assertions, and other writers contradict them.

The same remark will apply, when he says that Williams "could be persuaded, and that kind treatment could win him." Governor Hutchinson says, that "endeavours *were* used to reclaim him, but to *no purpose*." Mather says, that "before the court proceeded to banish this incendiary, they advised with the pastors of the neighbouring churches," who *requested* that they would forbear prosecuting him till they and their churches had in a church way endeavoured his conviction and repentance." Their proposal was allowed. "The church of Boston, and several other churches, took the best pains they could, and though they brought the church of Salem to join with them, the effect on Williams was, that he renounced them *all* as no churches." And though the church of Salem gave him up, and joined with those, who admonished him; yet this writer says, that "every person loved him, and that he had address enough never to be forsaken by the friends he had *ever* gained."

With equal propriety he says, Williams "breathed the purest devotion." As he has not produced any sample of his devotion, the task is ours. Writers, who had at least as good opportunities as this historian, say, that after he separated from his people, "he never more came to the church assembly; he withdrew all private religious communion from any, who held communion with them"; "he would not pray with his own wife and family, nor ask a blessing at meals with them, because they went to the church assemblies."

Finally, after his banishment as a pest of society, "he turned Anabaptist, (says Morton) then told his deluded followers, he was out of the way himself, and had misled them, for he did not find that there was any upon earth that could administer baptism, and therefore their last baptism was a nullity as well as their first, and therefore they must lay down all, and wait for the coming of new apostles; so they dissolved themselves."

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# COLLECTIONS, &c.

## The History of Cambridge. By Abiel Holmes, A.M. a Member of the Society.

——forsan et hæc olim meminisse juvabit. Virgil.

### *A Topographical Description of Cambridge.**

Cambridge is a shire town, in the county of Middlesex. It lies in 42°. 23′. north latitude, and 71°. west longitude from London. It is bounded on the north-east by Charlestown; on the north-west by Lexington; on the west by Watertown; on the south-west by Newton; on the south by Brookline, and on the south-east and east by Cambridge bay to Charlestown line.

It is about three miles distant from Boston, on a right line; eight miles, as measured on the road leading through Brookline and Roxbury; about four miles and a half through Charlestown; and three miles, one quarter, and sixty rods from the old state-house, by the way of West-Boston bridge.

The soil is various. In the south-west part of the town, within a mile of Charles river, the land is hilly, and abounds in springs. The soil is loamy, and natural to grass. In the north-west part of the town, the land is hilly,

* For this *Description*, I am principally indebted to my worthy friend, and respectable parishioner, Caleb Gannett, Esquire.

and similar to that in the south-west part. The hills, in each part, afford large quantities of stone for mason's work. From the foot of the hills on the south side of Charles-river, excepting a quantity of marsh of about 300 acres on each side, the soil is mostly light, and intermixed with loam, lying upon a stratum of clay, at the depth of fifteen or twenty feet, though at some places it runs to or near the surface. The soil is the same through the first parish, and Menotomy plains. On the sides of the rivulet, which divides the first and second parishes, there is a large quantity of meadow land, producing but little grass, and of an inferior quality. This meadow, however, abounds with peat, which is used by the poorer inhabitants for fuel.

The original growth of the land was oak, walnut, and pine. The orchards, planted by the first settlers, flourished greatly. The few ancient trees now remaining, being of a much larger size than any planted within half a century, denote vegetation to have been much more vigorous in former than in later years. From this cause, the quantity of fruit is greatly diminished.

The plains, though not fruitful in grass, are well adapted to the raising of Indian corn, winter rye, and the common esculent vegetables.

From the hilly and diversified surface of several parts, and the passage of Charles river through the middle of the town, it might be supposed that the air is very pure. Experience confirms the supposition. Many of the inhabitants have attained great longevity; and invalids, from other towns, have realized the beneficial effects of a salubrious air from a temporary residence in the town. Persons afflicted with chronic disorders have also received additional advantages, and sometimes effectual relief, by the use of the waters in a chalybeate spring in the south-west parish.

The largest river in Cambridge is Charles river, which is navigable to the bridge leading to Brookline, for vessels of ninety tons, and for lighters to Watertown.

Three ponds head a rivulet, which divides the first and second parishes, and which empties itself into Mystic river. The fish, usually to be found in fresh rivers and ponds, may, in their season, be caught in these waters.

Anciently, the alewife fishery was of considerable value. Exclusive of the purpose of exportation, the fish were used as manure for the lands.* This fishery is, at present, of little consequence.

In the north-west parish, in Cambridge, on a small brook, which originates in Lexington, and empties itself into Mystic river, there are one saw mill, and three mills. Persons, transporting their grain from the n west part of the state to Boston, might avail themselves of these mills, with convenience, to convert it into meal; and thus render it more saleable in the market.

In the same parish, there is a card manufactory which does great honour to American ingenuity. The machine, used in this manufactory, by a simple operation, bends, cuts, and sticks the card teeth. It was invented in the spring of 1797, by Amos Whittemore, of Cambridge; and, on the first of September, 1799, William Whittemore and company commenced business. Twenty-three machines, now in operation, stick two hundred dozen pairs of cards, on an average, every week. Forty persons, male and female, employed in this manufactory, complete the above-mentioned number, weekly, for sale. The building, in which the whole work is done, is 46 feet square; and the average price of the cards is 7 dollars per dozen pairs.

About fifty rods below the bridge leading to Brookline, there is a very commodious wharf, owned by William Winthrop, Esquire, at which great quantities of wood and lumber are annually unladen, to the great convenience of the mechanical interests, and to the general accommodation of the town. The breadth of Charles river here, is twenty-two rods.

West-Boston bridge, connecting Cambridge with Boston, is a magnificent structure. It was erected at the expense of a company incorporated for that purpose; and cost 76,700 dollars. The causeway, on the Cam-

* This singular species of manure appears to have been much used in the infancy of the country. An early writer, in reference to the first settlers of Concord, observes: "The Lord is pleased to provide for them great store of fish in the spring time, and especially alewives, about the bigness of a herring: many thousands of these they used to put under their Indian corne." *Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New-England.*

bridge side, was begun July 15, 1792; the wood work, April 8, 1793. The bridge was opened for passengers, November 23, 1793, seven months and an half from the time of laying the first pier. It is very handsomely constructed; and, when lighted by its two rows of lamps, extending a mile and a quarter, presents a vista, which has a fine effect.

| | |
|---|---|
| It stands on 180 piers, and is - | 3483 feet long. |
| Bridge over the gore, 14 do - - | 275 do. |
| Abutment, Boston side, - - - | 87½ |
| Causeway - - - - - | 3344 |
| Distance from the end of the causeway to the first church in Cambridge - | 7810 |
| Width of the bridge - - - | 40 |

It is railed on each side, for foot-passengers. The sides of the causeway are stoned, capstand, and railed; and on each side there is a canal, about 30 feet wide. A toll is granted to the proprietors for 70 years.

The distance from the first church in Cambridge to the old state-house in Boston, over this bridge, is three miles, one quarter, and sixty rods; and to the new state-house about three miles.

The erection of this bridge has had a very perceivable influence on the trade of Cambridge, which, formerly, was very inconsiderable. By bringing the travel from the westward and northward through the centre of the town, it has greatly invigorated business there. It, at the same time, has given rise to a thriving trade in the vicinity of the bridge, where several houses and stores have already been built, and where a rapid progress of trade and commerce may rationally be expected. The land, on each side of the road to Boston, from the farm formerly Inman's (lately Mr. Jarvis's) to the bridge, is divided into small lots, accommodated to the purpose of houses and stores; and has recently been sold.* This sale will, probably, be introductory to a compact and populous settlement.

There are five edifices for public worship in the town: within the limits of the first parish, a Congregational and an Episcopal church; in the second parish, a Congregational and a Baptist church; and in the third, a Congregational church.

* January, 1801.

There are five College edifices belonging to Harvard University: 1. *Harvard Hall*, (standing on the scite of old Harvard, which was burnt in 1764) containing a chapel, and dining hall, the library, and museum, a philosophy chamber, and an apartment for the philosophical apparatus; built in 1765:

2. *Massachusetts Hall*, of 4 stories, containing 32 rooms, and 64 studies; built in 1720:

3. *Hollis Hall*, of 4 stories, containing 32 rooms, and 64 studies; built in 1763:

4. *Holden Chapel*, lately converted into lecturing and reciting rooms, for the use of the professors and tutors; built in 1745. These 4 buildings are of brick.

5. *College House*, a wooden building, of 3 stories, containing 12 rooms with studies. This building stands without the college yard, having been originally built, about 1770, for a private dwelling-house, and purchased, about two years afterward, by the Corporation of Harvard College.

*Stoughton Hall*, which stood nearly on a line with Hollis, on the south, was a brick building, built in 1698, and taken down in 1781. An extensive and beautiful common spreads to the north-west of the colleges, and adds much to the pleasantness of this central part of the town.

A few rods to the south-west of the first church, stands a county court-house, where the judicial courts are holden, and the public business of the town is transacted. At the south-west corner of Market Square, is the jail, an ancient wooden building, not much used, for the confinement of criminals, since the erection of a stone jail at Concord, (the other shire town of Middlesex) in 1789.

A little to the westward of the Episcopal church is the grammar school-house; where a town school is kept through the year. Besides this, there are six school houses in the town; two in each of the three parishes.

During this summer, a bath was erected at brick-wharf, principally for the benefit of the students of the University. It was made under the superintendence of Thomas Brattle, Esquire, and happily unites ornament with utility.

The gardens of Thomas Brattle, Esquire, are universally admired, for the justness of their design, and for the rich-

ness, variety, and perfection, of their productions. In no part of New-England, probably, is horticulture carried to higher perfection than within his inclosure. A mall, adjoining his grounds, made in 1792, and shaded by handsome rows of trees, is a work of neatness and taste; and is, at once, convenient and ornamental to the town.

On the road leading to Watertown, there are several elegant seats, which attract the notice, and delight the eye, of the traveller. One of these seats, now owned by Mr. Andrew Craigie, was the place of General WASHINGTON's residence, while he was with the American army at Cambridge.

It is generally conceded, that this town eminently combines the tranquillity of philosophic solitude, with the choicest pleasures and advantages of refined society.

| | Acres. | Rods. |
|---|---|---|
| The First Parish in Cambridge contains - | 2851 | 60 |
| The Second - - - - - - | 4345 | 118 |
| The Third - - - - - - | 2660 | 31 |
| In October, 1798, the number of dwelling-houses in the | | |
| First parish, and within the town, was - - | | 148 |
| In the Second - - - - - - | | 85 |
| In the Third - - - - - - - | | 68 |
| Total houses in Cambridge, | | 301 |
| The present number of inhabitants in Cambridge is | | 2445 |
| In 1790, the number was - - - - - | | 2115 |
| Increase in 10 years - - | | 330 |

*The History of Cambridge.*

THE settlement of Cambridge commenced in 1631. It was the original intention of the settlers to make it the metropolis of the Province of Massachusetts. Governor Winthrop, Deputy-Governor Dudley, and the Assistants, having examined the territory lying contiguous to the new settlements, upon view of this spot, "all agreed it a fit place for a beautiful town, and took time to consider further about it."* On the 29th of December, 1630, "after

* Gov. Winthrop's Journal, printed at Hartford, in 1790

many consultations about a fit place to build a town for the seat of government, they agree on a place N. W. side of Charles river, about three miles W. from Charlestown; and all, except Mr. Endicott and Sharp (the former living at Salem, and the latter purposing to return to England) oblige themselves to build houses there the following spring, and remove their ordnance and munition thither, and first call the place NEWTOWN." * The town was laid out in squares, the streets intersecting each other at right angles. One square was reserved for the purpose of a market; and remains open, to this day, still retaining the name of *Market Place.*† The street, leading by the Town Spring to the southward, was called *Creek Street.* The street, parallel to this, leading from the College to the Causeway, *Wood Street.* The street parallel to this, leading from the First Church to Marsh Lane, *Water Street.* The street eastward, and parallel to this, leading from Braintree Street to Marsh Lane, *Crooked Street, or Lane.*‡ The street, from the parsonage to Wood Street, *Braintree Street.* The street southward, and parallel to this, running from the Town Spring to Crooked Lane, *Spring Street.* The street, parallel to this, and farther south, running from Creek Street to Crooked Lane, *Long Street.* South of this a lane on the margin of the marsh, called *Marsh Lane.* A lane leading from Crooked Street or Lane into the Neck, called *Back Lane.* Back Lane was narrow and crooked, and is now discontinued and inclosed; and, in its stead, a new street, 45 feet wide, and straight, has been laid out a few rods to the southward of that lane.

According to agreement, the Deputy-Governor, Secretary Bradstreet, and other principal gentlemen, in the spring of 1631, commenced the execution of the plan, with a view to its speedy completion. The Governor set up the frame of a house where he first pitched his tent;

* Prince's Chronology, vol. II. 8. Three numbers only of a second volume of this Chronology were ever published.

† For the original names of the streets of Cambridge, I am indebted to WILLIAM WINTHROP, ( Esquire, a descendant of Governor Winthrop) who, in some other particulars, has obligingly contributed to the correctness of this history.

‡ This street was straightened the present year.

and the Deputy-Governor finished his house,* and removed his family. On some considerations, however, "which at first came not into their minds," the Governor, in the ensuing autumn, took down his frame, and removed it into Boston, with the intention of making that the place of his future abode; greatly to the disappointment of the rest of the company, who were still resolved to build at Newtown. Having promised the people of Boston, when they first sat down with him there, that he would not remove, unless they should accompany him; they now petitioned him, "under all their hands," that, according to his promise, he would not leave them. About this time, also, Chicketawbu, the Chief of the Indians in the neighbourhood of Newtown, visited the Governor with high professions of friendship; which rendered him less apprehensive of danger from the Indians, and less solicitous for a fortified town. Together with these considerations, to influence the Governor to this new resolution, Boston was now "like to be the place of chiefest commerce." †

Various orders of the Court of Assistants shew, however, that Newtown, still designed for the metropolis, was taken under legislative patronage. On the 14th of June, 1631, the Court, in consideration of "Mr. John Masters' having undertaken to make a passage from Charles river to the New Town, 12 feet broad, and 7 deep, promises him satisfaction." On the 5th of July, the Court ordered, "that there be levied out of the several plantations £30, for making the Creek from Charles river to Newtown." ‡ In the course of the same year, a thatched house, in Boston, taking fire from the chimney, and becoming burnt down; "for prevention whereof," observes the Deputy-Governor, "in our *New Town*, intended to be built this summer, we have ordered, that no man there shall build his chimney with *wood*, nor cover his house with *thatch*." § On the

* It stood on the west side of Water Street, near its southern termination at Marsh Lane.

† Belknap's American Biography, II. 339. Hubbard's MS. Hist. of N. Eng.

‡ Prince, II. 30, 31. This creek, or passage, which is still open, extends from the river, in a northerly direction, to the upland on the west side of Water Street, where it is intersected by Marsh Lane.

§ Prince, II. 23.

3d of February, 1632, the Court ordered, "that £.60 be levied out of the several plantations, towards making a palisado about the New Town." *

An historian, who was in New-England, at this time, and who left it the year following, observes: "Newtown was first intended for a city, but, upon more serious considerations, it was thought not so fit, being too far from the sea; being the greatest inconvenience it hath. This is one of the neatest and best compacted towns in New-England, having many fair structures, with many handsome contrived streets. The inhabitants most of them are very rich." †

In some of the first years, the annual election of the Governor and Magistrates of the Colony was holden in this town. The people, on these occasions, assembled under an oak tree, which long remained a venerable monument of the freedom, the patriotism, and the piety, of the ancestors of New-England.‡

* Prince, II. 17. This fortification was actually made; and the fosse which was then dug around the town, is, in some places, visible, to this day. It commenced at Brick Wharf, (originally called Windmill Hill) and ran along the northern side of the present Common in Cambridge, and through what was then a thicket, but now constitutes a part of the cultivated grounds of Mr. Nathaniel Jarvis; beyond which it cannot be distinctly traced. It enclosed above 1000 acres.

† Wood's New-England's Prospect.

‡ This venerable oak stood on the northerly side of the Common in Cambridge, a little west of the road leading to Lexington. The stump of it was dug up not many years since.

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*Note for page* 8.

Chicketawbu was the sagamore of Neponcett, which could not have been far from Boston, for, on the 14th of February, 1632, "the Governor and some other company went to view the country as far as Neponcett, and returned that night." The first mention of this Indian chief, within my knowledge, is March 23, 1631, when "Chickatabot § came with his sannops and squaws, and presented the Governor with a bushel of Indian corn." In April, he "came to the Governor again, and he put him into a very good new suit from head to foot; and, after, he sat meat before him, but he would not eat till the Governor had given thanks, and after meat he desired him to do the like, and so departed." He died, of the small pox, in November, 1633, when that disorder occasioned "a great mortality among the Indians," and carried off many of his people. *Winthrop's Journal*, 24, 26, 32, 56.

§ *Thus spelt by Gov. Winthrop.*

The first considerable accession to the society appears to have been in August, 1632, when "the Braintree company which had begun to sit down at Mount Woolaston by order of Court, removed to Newtown. These were Mr. Hooker's company." * Mr. Hooker, however, having not yet come to New-England, they were still destitute of a settled minister. But a preparation for the privilege of the public ministry, and of the ordinances of the gospel, was an immediate and primary object of their pious attention. This year, accordingly, they "built the

* Winthrop's Journal, 42. It is highly probable, that this company came from Braintree, in Essex county, in England, and from its vicinity. Chelmsford, where Mr. Hooker was settled, is but eleven miles from Braintree: And Mr. Hooker "was so esteemed as a preacher, that not only his own people, but others from all parts of the country of Essex flocked to hear him." — The names of this company, constituting the first settlers of the town of Cambridge, are preserved in the records of the Proprietors, under the date of 1632, and are as follow:

Jeremy Adams
Matthew Allen
John Benjamin
Jonathan Boswell
Mr. Simon Bradstreet†
John Bridge
Richard Butler
John Clarke
Anthony Couldby, or Colby
Daniel Dennison
Thomas Dudley, Esq.
Samuel Dudley
Edward Elmer
Richard Goodman
William Goodwin
Garrad Hadden
Stephen Hart
John Haynes, Esq.‡
Thomas Heate
Rev. Thomas Hooker
Thomas Hosmer
Richard Harlackenden
William Lewis
Richard Lord
John Masters
Abraham Morrill
Hester Mussey
Simon Oakes
James Olmstead
Capt. Daniel Patrick
John Prat
William Pentrey
Joseph Redinge
Nathaniel Richards
William Spencer
Thomas Spencer
Edward Stebbins
John Steele
Henry Steele
George Steele
Samuel Stone
John Talcott
William Wadsworth
Andrew Warner
Richard Webb
William Westwood
John White.

† *Afterward Governor of Massachusetts.*

‡ *Afterward Governor of Connecticut. His house stood on the west side of Market Place. For his character, see Trumbull's History of Connecticut,* I. 223.

first house for public worship at Newtown, with a bell upon it."*

The removal of the Governor into Boston having occasioned a misunderstanding between him and the Deputy-Governor; "the ministers, for an end of the difference, ordered, that the Governor should procure them a minister at Newtown, and contribute some towards his maintenance for a time; or if he could not by the spring effect that, then to give the Deputy, towards his charges in building there, £20." The Governor accepted this order, and promised a compliance with it. The Deputy-Governor, however, on the reception of one part of the order, returned it to the Governor, professing so full a persuasion of the Governor's love to him, and so high an estimation of it, that "if he had given him £.100, instead of £.20, he would not have taken it." Notwithstanding the variance, which had subsisted between these venerable men, "yet they peaceably met about their affairs, without any appearance of any breach or discontent; and ever after kept peace and good correspondency together in love and friendship."†

The recent settlers of Newtown had, while in England,

* Prince, II. 75. This church stood on the west side of Water Street, and south of Spring Street, near the place where these streets intersect each other, about 30 rods south of where the congregational church now stands.

† Winthrop's Journal.——Governor Winthrop is characterized, by Morton, as "singular for piety, wisdom, and of a public spirit; as a man of unbiassed justice, patience in respect of personal wrongs and injuries, a great lover of the saints, especially able ministers of the gospel; very sober in desiring, and temperate in improving, earthly contentments; very humble, courteous, and studious of general good." Dr. Belknap justly observes, that "he was eminently qualified for the first office of government, in which he shone with a lustre, which would have done him honour in a larger sphere, and a more elevated situation. He was the father, as well as governor, of an infant plantation." His house, in Boston, stood a few rods north of the Old South church, where the pile of brick stores has been recently built. The late John Winthrop, Esq. Hollis Professor of Math. and Nat. Philos. was his descendant of the fourth generation; and James and William Winthrop, Esquires, now living in Cambridge, are descendants, of the fifth generation. Gov. Winthrop died in 1649, ætat. LXIII. *Amer. Biog.* II. 337. *Magnalia*, II. 8.

Thomas Dudley, Esq. is characterized as "a man of sound judgment in matters of religion, and well read, bestowing much labour

attended the ministry of the Reverend Thomas Hooker, who, to escape fines and imprisonment for his non-conformity, had now fled into Holland. To enjoy the privilege of such a pastor, they were willing to migrate to any part of the world. No sooner, therefore, was he driven from them, than they turned their eyes towards New-England. They hoped that, if comfortable settlements could be made in this part of America, they might obtain him for their pastor. Immediately after their settlement at Newtown, they expressed their earnest desires to Mr. Hooker, that he would come over into New-England, and take the pastoral charge of them. At their desire he left Holland; and, having obtained Mr. Samuel Stone, a lecturer at Torcester in Northamptonshire, for an assistant in the ministry, took his passage for America, and arrived at Boston September 4, 1633. With him came over the famous Mr. John Cotton, Mr. John Haynes, afterwards Governor of Connecticut, Mr. Goff, and two hundred passengers of importance to the Colony.* "They got out of England with much difficulty, all places being belaid to have taken Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, who had been long sought for, to have been brought into the High Commission; but the master being bound to touch at the Wight, the pursuants attended there, and the mean time the said ministers were taken in at the Downs."† Mr. Hooker, on his arrival at Boston, proceeded to Newtown, where he was received with open arms, by an affectionate and pious people. He was now chosen pastor, and Mr. Stone teacher, of the people at Newtown; and on the 11th of October, 1633, after solemn fasting and prayer, they were ordained to their respective offices.

that way; as a lover of justice, order, the people, Christian religion—the supreme virtues of a good magistrate. He was exact in the practice of piety in his person and family all his life. He was a principal founder and pillar of the colony of Massachusetts; and, several times, Governor and Deputy-Governor of that Province. He was a principal founder of the town of Newtown, [Cambridge] being zealous to have it made the metropolis." On Mr. Hooker's removal to Hartford, he removed from Newtown to Ipswich, and afterward to Roxbury, where he died, in 1633, ætat. LXXVII. *Wonder-working Providence. Morton's Memorial. Prince. Mather.*

* Trumbull, I. 11.

† Winthrop's Journal.

The fame of the removal of these eminent men to America invited over vast numbers of Puritans, who could not find rest under Archbishop Laud's severe administration; "insomuch that, for several years, hardly a vessel came into these parts, but was crowded with passengers for New-England." *

An historian of this early period piously notices "the admirable acts of Providence" toward the people of Newtown, in this infancy of their settlement. "Although they were in such great straites for foode, that many of them eate their bread by waight, and had little hopes of the earths fruitfulnesse, yet the Lord Christ was pleased to refresh their spirits with such quickning grace, and lively affections to this temple-worke, that they did not desert the place. And that which was more remarkable, when they had scarce houses to shelter themselves, and no doores to hinder the Indians accesse to all they had in them; yet did the Lord so awe their hearts, that although they frequented the Englishmens places of aboade, where their whole substance, weake wives and little ones lay open to their plunder, during their absence, being whole dayes at Sabbath-Assemblies, yet had they none of their food or stuffe diminished, neither children nor wives hurt in the least measure, although the Indians came commonly to them, at those times, much hungry belly (as they use to say) and were then in number and strength beyond the English by far." †

As early as May, 1634, it appears that the number of inhabitants at Newtown had become disproportioned to the township. "Those of Newtown," says Governor Winthrop, "complained of straitness for want of land, especially meadow, and desired leave of the Council to look out either for enlargement or removal, which was granted; whereupon they sent men to see Agawam [Ipswich] and Merrimack, and gave out they would remove." ‡ In July, six inhabitants of Newtown went passengers in a vessel "bound to the Dutch plantation, to discover Connecticut river, intending to remove their town thither." §

At the General Court, which sat at Newtown in Sep-

* Neal.
† Wonder-working Providence.
‡ Winthrop's Journal.
§ Ibid.

tember,, " many things were agitated and concluded, as fortifying in Castle-Island, Dorchester and Charlestown ; with divers other matters. But the main business, which spent the most time, and caused the adjourning of the Court, was about the removal of Newtown. They had leave the last General Court to look out for some place for enlargement or removal, with promise of having it confirmed to them, if it were not prejudicial to any other plantation ; and now they moved that they might have leave to remove to Connecticut." The subject was largely and warmly debated ; " the whole Colony being affected with the dispute." When the question was put to vote, fifteen of the Deputies voted for leave of departure, and ten against it; the Governor and two Assistants voted for it ; but the Deputy-Governor, with all the other Assistants, voted against it ; so a legal act could not be obtained. Hence arose a great difference between the Governor and Assistants, and the Deputies, concerning the negative voice. " So when they could proceed no further, the whole Court agreed to keep a day of humiliation to seek the Lord," which was kept, accordingly, in all the congregations. The Court met again soon after ; but before it proceeded to business, Mr. Cotton (on Mr. Hooker's declining) preached from Hag. ii. 4. " And it pleased the Lord so to assist him, and to bless his own ordinance, that the affairs of the Court went on cheerfully ;—and the congregation of Newtown came and accepted such enlargement as had formerly been offered them by Boston and Watertown."* This first enlargement was, doubtless, in breadth, to the southward and westward. When the first settlers erected " the New Town," between Charlestown and Watertown, it was " in forme like a lift cut off from the broad-cloath of the two fore-named towns."†

The people of Newtown manifesting a persevering determination to remove into Connecticut, and those of some neighbouring towns concurring, at the same time, in the wish and project of removal to other places ; the General Court, in May, 1635, gave them leave to remove whither they pleased, on condition that they should continue under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

* Winthrop's Journal, 70. † Wonder-working Providence, 16.

In October, Mr. Thomas Shepard, whose name holds a conspicuous place in the annals of New-England, arrived at Boston, together with the people who were to form his pastoral charge. On the first of February, 1636, the first permanent church was gathered at Newtown. Mr. Shepard, and "divers other good christians," intending to form a church, communicated their design to the magistrates, who gave their approbation. Application was also made to all the neighbouring churches, "for their elders to give their assistance at a certain day at Newtown, when they should constitute their body." A great assembly accordingly convened, and the church was organized in a public and solemn manner.* The ordination of Mr. Shepard probably took place soon after this organization of the church; but the precise time cannot now be ascertained. "It was deferred," says Dr. Mather, "until another day, wherein there was more time to go through the other solemnities proper to such an occasion."

Early in the summer of 1636, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Stone, and about a hundred men, women, and children, composing the whole of Mr. Hooker's church and congregation, left Newtown; and travelled above a hundred miles, through a hideous and trackless wilderness, to Connecticut. "They had no guide but their compass; made their way over mountains, through swamps, thickets and rivers, which were not passable but with great difficulty. They had no cover but the heavens, nor any lodgings but those which simple nature afforded them."†

* For the form of the organization of this church, and the religious exercises on the occasion, see Winthrop's Journal, 95, 96. This was the eleventh church, gathered in Massachusetts. The order of the churches was as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| The first church was gathered | at Salem, | in the year | 1629 |
| The second . . . | at Charlestown, | . | 1630 |
| The third . . . | at Dorchester, | . . | 1631 |
| The fourth . . . . | at Roxbury, | . . | 1631 |
| The fifth . . . | at Lynn, | . . . | 1631 |
| The sixth . . . . | at Watertown, | . . | 1631 |
| The seventh . . . | at Boston, | . . . | 1632 |
| The *eighth* (Mr. Hooker's) | at Newtown, [Cambridge] | | 1633 |
| The ninth . . . | at Ipswich, | . . . | 1634 |
| The tenth . . . . | at Newbury, | . . | 1634 |
| The *eleventh* (Mr. Shepard's) | at Newtown, [Cambridge] | | 1636 |

† Trumbull, I. 55. Winthrop's Journal, 100.

They drave with them 160 cattle, and subsisted on the milk of their cows, during the journey. Mrs. Hooker was carried in a litter. This little company laid the foundation of Hartford, now a very flourishing city in Connecticut.

Their removal was very opportune for Mr. Shepard and his company, who purchased the dwelling-houses and lands, which they had owned at Newtown; and thus enjoyed the advantage (which fell to the lot of few of the early colonists) of entering a settlement already cultivated, and furnished with comfortable accommodations.

This year (1636) the General Court contemplated the erection of a Public School at Newtown, and appropriated four hundred pounds for that purpose; which laid the foundation of Harvard College.*

Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, a very extraordinary woman, commencing a religious teacher, about this time, and holding lectures for the propagation of her peculiar tenets, attracted a numerous audience, and gained many adherents. "The whole Colony was soon divided into two parties, differing in sentiment, and still more alienated in affection. They stiled each other Antinomians and Legalists."† Such was the warmth of the controversy, that it was judged advisable to call a Synod to give their opinion on the controverted points. A Synod was accordingly holden at Newtown on the 30th of August, 1637, at which "all the teaching elders through the country," and messengers of the several churches, were present. The magistrates, too, attended as hearers, and spake occasionally, as they saw fit. Of this Synod Mr. Shepard, who opened it with prayer, "was no small part."‡ After a session of three weeks, the Synod condemned eighty-two erroneous opinions, which had become disseminated in New-England. The proceedings of this Synod appear to have been conducted with fairness

* "After God had carried us safe to New-England, and wee had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our liveli-hood, rear'd convenient places for God's worship, and settled the civill government: One of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity: dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches, when our present ministers shall lie in the dust." *New-England's First Fruits, published in* 1643.

† Adams's History of New England.

‡ C. Mather.

and ability. "Liberty was given to any man to dispute *pro* or *con*, and none to be charged to be of that opinion he disputed for, unlesse he should declare himselfe so to be.—The clearing of the true sense and meaning of any place of scripture, it was done by scripture." An historian, who lived at that period, says: "Foure sorts of persons I could with a good will have paid their passage out, and home againe to England, that they might have been present at this Synod, so that they would have reported the truth of all the passages thereof to their own Colledges at their return." These were "the Prelates;" "the godly and reverend Presbyterian party;" "those who with their new stratagems have brought in so much old error;" and "those who derided all sorts of scholarship." *

The vigilance of Mr. Shepard was blest for the preservation of his own church, and of the other New-England churches, from the Antinomian and Familistical errors, which began at this time to prevail: "And," according to Dr. Mather, "it was with respect to this vigilancy, and the enlightening and powerful ministry of Mr. Shepard, that when the foundation of a *College* was to be laid, Cambridge, rather than any other place, was pitched upon to be the seat of that happy seminary." †

A contemporary historian closes "the dismall yeare of sixteene hundred thirty-six," with the following story, illustrative, at once, of Mr. Shepard's preaching talents, and of the spirit of his times. A person, who had come to New-England, "hoping to finde the powerful presence of Christ in the preaching of the word," was encountered, at his first landing, by some of Mrs. Hutchinson's disciples, who were zealous to proselyte him to their doctrine. Finding that "hee could not skill in that new light, which was the common theame of every man's discourse," he betooke himself to a narrow Indian path, which soon led him "where none but sencelesse trees and echoing rocks make answer to his heart-easeing mone." After a perplexed and pathetic soliloquy, in this deep recess, he formed a resolution "to hear some one of these able ministers preach, whom report had so valued," before he

* Wonder-working Providence.

† Magnalia, III. 87. Wonder-working Providence, 164.

would "make choice of one principle," or cross the broade seas back againe. Then turning his face to the sun, he steered his course toward the next town, and after some small travell hee came to a large plaine. No sooner was hee entred thereon, but hearing the sound of a drum, he was directed toward it by a broade beaten way." Following this road, he enquired of the first person he met, what the signal of the drum meant. The answer was, they had as yet no bell to call men to meeting, and therefore made use of a drum." * Who lectures, said he, at this town? "I see you are a stranger, new come over," replied the other, "since you know not the man. It is one Mr. Shepard." "I am new come over," said the stranger, "and have been told since I came, that most of your ministers are legall preachers, onely if I mistake not they told me this man preached a finer covenant of works than the other. However I shall make what haste I can to hear him. Fare you well." Hastening to the place, he pressed through the thickest crowd into the church, "where having stayed while the glasse was turned up twice, the man was metamorphosed." He was frequently melted into tears, during the service, and overwhelmed with gratitude to God, whose "blessed spirit caused the speech of a poore weake pale complectioned man to take such impression in his soul." The preacher "applied the word so aptly, as if hee had been his privy counsellor; cleering Christs worke of grace in the soule from all those false doctrines, which the erronious party had afrighted him withall." Finding that there was here not only a zeal "for the truth of the discipline, but also of the doctrine," of the gospel, "he now resolves (the Lord willing) to live and die with the ministers of New-England." †

The Reverend John Harvard, of Charlestown, in 1638, added to the sum, appropriated by the Legislature to the public school at Newtown, about eight hundred pounds.

* The town records confirm Mr. Prince's account, that the church had a bell at first; for they show that the town meetings were then called by the ringing of the bell. A drum, for what reason does not now appear, was afterwards substituted in its place; for I find an order of the townsmen, in 1646, for the payment of fifty shillings to a man "for his service to the towne, in beating the drum."

† Wonder-working Providence, C. XLIII.

Thus endowed, this school was exalted to a college, and assumed the name of its principal Benefactor: and *Newtown*, in compliment to the college, and in memory of the place where many of our fathers received their education, was now denominated CAMBRIDGE.

In 1639, the first printing press, erected in New-England, was set up at Cambridge, "by one Daye at the charge of Mr. Glover," who died on his passage to America.* The first thing which was printed was the freeman's oath; the next was an almanack made for New-England by Mr. Pierce, mariner; the next was the Psalms newly turned into metre.†

The ecclesiastical fathers of New-England, dissatisfied with Sternhold and Hopkins' version of the Psalms, then in common use, resolved on a new version. Some of the principal Divines in the country, among whom were Mr. Welde and Mr. Eliot, of Roxbury, and Mr. Mather of Dorchester, undertook the work. Aiming, as they well expressed it, to have "a plain translation, rather than to smooth their verses with the sweetness of any paraphrase;" and regarding "conscience rather than ele-

* "The Reverend and judicious Mr. Jos. Glover, being able both in person and estate for the work, provided, for further compleating the colonies, in church and commonwealth, a printer," &c. *Wonder-working Providence*, X.—Mrs. Glover (probably the relict of this gentleman) bought Gov. Haines' house and estate, situated at Market Place, in Cambridge, in 1639.

Nothing of Daye's printing is to be found. The press was very early in the possession of Mr. SAMUEL GREENE, who was an inhabitant of Cambridge, in 1639, and who is considered as the *first Printer* in America. His descendants, in every succession to this day, have maintained the honour of the typographic art. The present printers, of that name, at New-London, and New-Haven, in Connecticut, are of his posterity. The first press was in use at Cambridge, about half a century. The last thing I can find, which issued from it, is the second edition of Eliot's Indian Bible, in 1685. Some reliques of this press, I am informed, are still in use, in the printing office at Windsor, in Vermont.

Mr. Samuel Hall, printer to the Historical Society, printed the New-England Chronicle at Cambridge, from the commencement of the revolutionary war, in 1775, to the removal of the American army from Cambridge. A new printing press was set up in this town, the present year, by Mr. William Hilliard, a son of my worthy predecessor in the ministry.

† Winthrop's Journal.

gance, fidelity rather than poetry," their version, it seems, was too crude to satisfy the taste of an age, neither highly refined, nor remarkably critical. Hence, Mr. Shepard, of Cambridge, addressed them with this monitory verse:

> "Ye *Roxbury* poets, keep clear of the crime
> Of missing to give us very good rhyme:
> And you of *Dorchester* your verses lengthen,
> But with the texts own words you will them strengthen."

This Version was printed at Cambridge in 1640: but requiring, as it was judged, "a little more art," it was committed to President Dunster, a great master of the oriental languages, who, with some assistance, revised and refined it, and brought it into that state in which the churches of New-England used it for many subsequent years.*

In 1639, the town ordered, that some person, chosen for the purpose, should register every birth, marriage, and burial, and, "according to the order of the Court, in that case provided, give it in once evrie yeare to be delivered by the deputies to the Recorder."

In 1641, (Dec. 13) the town chose two men, whom they directed to "take care for the making of the towne spring, against Mr. Dunster's house, a sufficient well, with timber and stone fit for the use of man, and wattering of cattel."†

In 1642, according to an order of the last General Court, "for the townsmen to see to the educating children," the town was divided into six parts, and a person appointed for each division, "to take care of all the families" it contained.

The first Commencement was holden at Cambridge in 1642, at which time nine Students took the degree of Bachelor of Arts.‡ "They were young men of good

* The Rev. Mr. Prince, of Boston, observed, that, when he was last in England, in 1717, he found this Version "was by some eminent congregations there preferred to all others in their public worship." I find the eighteenth edition of this Version printed with the Bible at Edinburgh, in 1741; and the twenty-third (I suppose New-England) edition printed at Boston, in 1730. The Rev. Mr. Prince revised and improved this New-England Version, in 1758.

† May not this be the town well, still in use, a little southwesterly of the first church?

‡ There are now one hundred and ninety-one Students in this ancient and very respectable seminary; and, for several preceding

hope, and performed their acts so as gave good proof of their proficiency in the tongues and arts." * Most of the members of the General Court were now present, "and dined at the college with the scholars ordinary commons, which was done of purpose for the students encouragement—and it gave good content to all." †

In 1643, the General Court,—which had previously committed the government of the College to all the magistrates, and the ministers of the three nearest churches, with the president,—passed an act for the well ordering and managing of Harvard College, by which all the magistrates, and the teaching elders of the six nearest towns, [Cambridge, Watertown, Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury, and Dorchester] and the president for the time being, were appointed to be forever governors of this Seminary. They met at Cambridge, for the first time, by virtue of this Act, on the 27th of December, 1643, "considered of the officers of the college, and chose a treasurer." ‡

How early the Grammar School was established at Cambridge does not appear: but it seems to have been nearly coeval with the town, and to have been an object of great care and attention. As early as 1643, a writer observes: "By the side of the Colledge is a faire Grammar Schoole, for the training up of young schollars, and fitting of them for Academical learning, that still as they

years, there have been upwards of two hundred. Since the year 1642, there have graduated at this College . . . . . 3674
Of whom have died . . . . . 2113

Now living . . . . . 1561
The whole number of ministers who have graduated here, is 1158
Of which number have died . . . . . 787

Now living . . . . . 371

The observations of Mr. Oakes are worthy of perpetual regard: "Think not that the Commonwealth of Learning may languish, and yet our Civil and Ecclesiastical State be maintained in good plight and condition. The wisdom and foresight, and care for future times, of our first Leaders was in nothing more conspicuous and admirable, than in the planting of that Nursery: and New-England is enjoying the sweet fruit of it. It becomes all our faithful and worthy Patriots that tread in their steps, to water what they have planted."

*Address to the General Court, in his Election Sermon,* 1673.

* Winthrop's Journal. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

are judged ripe, they may be received into the Colledge of this schoole: Master Corlet is the Mr. who hath very well approved himself for his abilities, dexterity and painfulnesse in teaching and education of the youths under him." *

This school, some years after, received a liberal donation from Edward Hopkins, † Esquire, Governor of Connecticut, who died in England, in 1657. This charitable and pious man gave, by his last will, the principal part of his estate to his father-in-law, Theophilus Eaton, Esquire, and others, in "full assurance of their trust and faithfulness in disposing of it, according to" his "true intent and purpose." This purpose is declared to be, "to give some encouragement in those Foreign Plantations, for the breeding up of hopeful Youth in a way of learning both at the Grammar School and College, for the public service of the Country in future times." Five hundred pounds of his estate in England, appropriated to the college and grammar school in Cambridge, were laid out in real estate in the town of Hopkinton, and now constitute a respectable fund. Three fourths of the income of this estate are applied, according to the instruction of the will of the donor, to the maintenance of five resident Bachelors of arts, at Harvard College, and the other fourth "to the Master of Cambridge Grammar School, in consideration of his instructing in Grammar Learning five boys,‡ nominated

* New-England's First Fruits. See Coll. of Hist. Soc. I. 243. Mr. Corlet appears to have been a man of learning, of piety, and respectability; and it is to the honour of Cambridge, that, in the infancy of the town, great exertions were made for his steady and permanent support. He was master of the Grammar School, in this town, between 40 and 50 years. He had the tuition of the Indian scholars, who were designed for the College, and, "for his extraordinary paines in teaching" them, received compensation from the Society for propagating the Gospel. In the accounts, transmitted from New-England to that Society, he is repeatedly, and very honourably, mentioned. [See Hazard's Hist. Coll. II.] Dr. C. Mather (who has inserted in his Magnalia a biographical sketch of the Rev. Mr. Hooker, drawn by Mr. Corlet) styles him "that memorable old School-master in Cambridge; from whose education," he adds, "our College and Country has received so many of its worthy men, that he is himself worthy to have his name celebrated in our Church History."

† See his character in Trumbull's Hist. Connect. I. 241.

‡ The Legislature of Massachusetts has made such an addition

by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, and the Minister of Cambridge for the time being, who are, by the Will, constituted "Visitors of the said School." They make an annual visitation, the week before the commencement, "to see that so many children are taught," and that they "give proof of their proficiency in learning." Two shillings on the pound, or a tenth part as much as each Bachelor receives, is applied to "buy books and reward the industry of such under-graduates, as distinguish themselves by their application to their studies."

In 1644, Mr. Daniel Gookin removed from Virginia, with his family, and settled at Cambridge; "being drawn hither by having his affection strongly set on the truths of Christ and his pure ordinances."* His arrival was very opportune for the Reverend Mr. Eliot, the Indian apostle, who was now preparing himself for his great work of evangelizing the Indians. Mr. Gookin, animated with an apostolical zeal for the promotion of this pious design, vigorously co-operated with Mr. Eliot, in its execution. He himself informs us,† that Mr. Eliot "was his neighbour, and intimate friend, at the time when he first attempted this enterprize," and communicated to him his design. In Mr. Eliot's evangelizing visits to the Indians, Mr. Gookin so often accompanied him, that he is said to have been "his constant, pious and persevering companion."‡

to this very useful fund, that six bachelors may now reside at the College, and seven boys be instructed at the Grammar School.

* Wonder-working Providence. Magnal. III. 120.

† Hist. Collect. of the Indians in New-England.

‡ Homer's Hist. of Newtown, in Coll. of Hist. Soc. vol. V. 253.—Soon after Mr. Gookin's arrival, he was appointed captain of the military company in Cambridge; and a member of the house of deputies. In 1652, he was elected assistant; and, four years after, was appointed by the General Court superintendent of all the Indians, who had submitted to the government of Massachusetts; in which office he appears to have continued, with little interruption, till his death. In 1662, he was appointed, in conjunction with the Rev. Mr. Mitchel, one of the licensers of the printing-press in Cambridge. In 1681, he was appointed major-general of the Colony. He is characterized by the writers, who mention his name, as a man of good understanding, rigid in his religious and political principles, but zealous and active, of inflexible integrity, and exemplary piety, disinterested and benevolent, a firm patriot, and, above all, uniformly friendly to the Indians,

In 1646, Mr. Eliot, having acquired a knowledge of the Indian language, began to preach to the Indians at Nonantum, then lying within the limits of Cambridge. From this time, for many years afterward, great pains were taken, and large sums expended, to educate Indian youth for the ministry. Several were maintained, a number of years, at the grammar school, with a view to the completion of their education at the college in Cambridge. Such, at this early period, was the zeal of our pious ancestors for the christianization of the Indians, and so sanguine were their hopes of rendering the Indian youth auxiliary to the design, that, in 1665, a brick edifice, 30 feet long, and 20 feet broad, was erected at Cam-

who lamented his death with unfeigned sorrow. He died in 1687—a poor man. But, such was the estimation of his character and services, that a decent monument was erected over his grave. It stands on the south-east side of the burying ground in Cambridge, and has this inscription :

Here lyeth intered
the body of Major Genl.
Daniel Gookins aged 75 yeares
who departed this life y^e^ 19 of March
1686—7

Mr. Eliot's apostolical labours among the Indians are justly celebrated in Europe and America. His Indian bible will remain a perpetual monument of his patient diligence, and pious zeal. "The whole translation," Dr. C. Mather says, "he writ with but one pen." The first edition of it was published as early, at least, as the year 1663, and a second in 1685. Both editions were printed at Cambridge. The title of this bible is :

Mamusse
Wunneetupanatamwe
UP-BIBLUM GOD
Naneeswe
NUKKONE TESTAMENT
Kah Wonk
WUSKU TESTAMENT.

The *Lord's Prayer* is as follows :

Nooshun kesukqut, quttianatamunach koowesuonk. Peyaumooutch kukketassootamóonk nen nach ohkeit neane kesukqut. Nummeetsuongash asekêsukokish assamainneau yenyeu kesukok. Kah ahquoantamaiinnean nummatcheseongash neane matchenehukqueagig nutahquontamôunnonog. Ahquc sagkompagunaiinnean en qutchhuaongaint webe pohquohwussinnean wutch matchitut. Newutche kutahtaunn ketassòotamoonk, kah menuhkesuonk, kah sohsumòonk. micheme. Amen.

bridge, for an Indian College. Several Indians entered college, of whom, however, one* only ever attained the academical honours. "The design," says Mr. Gookin, "was prudent, noble, and good; but it proved ineffectual."—"The awful providences of God, in frustrating the hopeful expectations concerning the learned Indian youth, who were designed to be for teachers unto their countrymen," are noticed, with great sensibility, by this historian,† who, amidst all discouragements, retained his zeal for the promotion of this pious design, till the very close of his life.

A Bill having been preferred to the General Court in 1646, for the calling of a Synod, for the purpose of composing and publishing a platform of church-discipline, a "motion" was made by the Court to the churches, to assemble such a Synod. It was, accordingly, convened at Cambridge that year, and protracted its session, by adjournments, till 1648. This Synod composed and adopted the *platform of Church-discipline*, called "The Cambridge Platform," which together with the Westminster Confession of Faith, it recommended to the General Court, and to the churches. The churches of New-England, in general, acceded to this platform for more than thirty years: and it was recognized and confirmed by a synod at Boston, in 1679.‡

The thriving state of the herds,§ belonging to this

* Caleb Cheescaumuck, (anciently written Cheeshahteaumuck) in 1665.

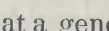
† Gookin's Historical Collections, chap. V.

‡ Adams's Hist. of N. England. Neal's Hist. of N. England, II. 33.

§ By an estimate of the number of persons, and of the estate, in Cambridge, taken by the Townsmen, [Selectmen] by order of the General Court, in 1647, it appears, that there were then in town,

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Persons (rateable) | 135 | |
| Houses | 90 | |
| Cows, (valued at £9 pr. head) | 208 | |
| Oxen, (at £6 pr. head) | 131 | |
| Young cattle. | 229 | |
| Total head of cattle | | 568 |
| Horses, (at £7 pr. head) | 20 | |
| Sheep, (at £1 10 pr. head) | 37 | |
| Swine, (at £1 pr. head) | 62 | |
| Goats, (at 8*s.* pr. head) | 58 | |

town, together with the confidence reposed in *Waban* * (an influential Indian, recently converted to christianity by the apostolic Eliot) appear in the following compact, dated April 12, 1647: "Bargained with Waban, the Indian, for to keepe about *six score heade* of dry cattle on the south side of Charles River, and he is to have the full some of eight pound, to be paid as followeth, viz. 30s. to James Cutler, and the rest in Indian corne at 3sh. bushel, after micheltide next.—He is to bargain to take care of them the 21 day of this present month, and to keepe them untill 3 weeks after michelmas; and if any be lost or ill, he is to send word unto the towne, and if any shall be lost through his carlessness he is to pay according to the value of the beast for his defect.

His  mark. Waban."

In 1648, "it was agreed, at a generall meeting, when the whole towne had speciall warneing to meete for the dispoesing of Shawshine, that there should be a farme layde out, of a thousand acres, to be for a publick stocke, and improved for the good of the Church, and that part of the Church that here shall continue; and every person or persons, that shall from time to time remove from the Church, doe hereby resigne up theire interest therein to the remaineing part of the Church of Cambridge." †

The same year, it was ordered, "That there shall be an eight peny ordnary provided for the Townsmen [Selectmen] every second munday of the month upon there meeteing day; and that whosoever of the Townsmen faile to be present within half an houre of the ringing of the bell (which shall be half an houre after eleven of the clocke) he shall both lose his dinner, and pay a pint of sacke, or the value, to the present Townsmen."

Among the town-officers for the following year, three commissioners were chosen, "to end small causes under forty shillings."

Mr. Shepard died in 1649, and was succeeded in the

* Waban lived at Nonantum, a part of Cambridge Village, now Newton. When Mr. Eliot, made his first evangelizing visit, Oct. 28, 1646, "Waban met him at a small distance from the settlement, and welcomed him to a large wigwam on the hill Nonantum;" and became one of the first fruits of his mission. *Homer's Hist. of Newton.*

† Town Records.

ministry by the Reverend Jonathan Mitchel. In the interval between Mr. Shepard's death, and Mr. Mitchel's ordination, the pulpit was supplied by President Dunster, and Mr. Richard Lyon, who lived at the President's in the capacity of a private tutor to an English student.

A vote of the town to repair the old church "with a 4 square roofe, and covered with shingle," passed Feb. 18, 1650, was rescinded, in March; and the committee, now ordered to "desist from repairing" the old house, was instructed to "agree with workmen for the building of a new house, about forty foot square, and covered as was formerly agreed for the other. It was also then voted, and generally agreed, that the new meeting-house shall stand on the Watch house hill." This is believed to be the hill on which the present congregational church stands. The second church was, doubtless, erected about this time; for, in February, 1651, the town voted, "That the Townsmen shall make sale of the land whereon the old meeting house stood."

In 1650, the General Court gave the College its first charter, appointing a Corporation, consisting of the President, five Fellows, and the Treasurer. This board, and that previously mentioned, *now* denominated the board of Overseers, constitute the legislature of Harvard University.*

Cambridge appears, at this time, to have bestowed some attention on navigation; for an early historian mentions "a ship, built and set forth by the inhabitants of

* Presidents of Harvard University.

| *Access.* | | *Exit.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1640 | Rev. Henry Dunster, resigned | 1654 |
| 1654 | Rev. Charles Chauncy, died | 1672 |
| 1672 | Rev. Leonard Hoar, M. D. resigned | 1675 |
| 1675 | Rev. Urian Oakes, A. M. died | 1681 |
| 1682 | John Rogers, A. M. died | 1684 |
| 1685 | Rev. Increase Mather, S. T. D. resigned | 1701 |
| 1701 | Rev. Samuel Willard, A. M. Vice-President, died | 1707 |
| 1708 | Hon. John Leverett, A. M. S. R. S. died | 1724 |
| 1725 | Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth, A. M. died | 1737 |
| 1737 | Rev. Edward Holyoke, A. M. died | 1769 |
| 1770 | Rev. Samuel Locke, S. T. D. resigned | 1773 |
| 1774 | Rev. Samuel Langdon, S. T. D. resigned | 1780 |
| 1781 | Rev. Joseph Willard, S. T. D, L.L. D. | |

Cambridge," in 1649, as being "split and cast away." The same historian, who composed his history in 1652, says of Cambridge: This town is compact closely within itselfe, till of late yeares some few stragling houses have been built. The liberties of this town have been inlarged of late in length, reaching from the most northerly part of *Charles* river, to the most southerly part of *Merrimeck* river.* It hath well ordered streets and comly compleated with the faire building of Harvard Colledge.——The people of this Church and Towne have hitherto had the chiefest share in spirituall blessings, the ministry of the word by more than ordinary instruments:—Yet are they at this day in a thriving condition in outward things, also both corne and cattell, neate, and sheepe, of which they have a good flocke, which the Lord hath caused to thrive much in these latter dayes than formerly."†

The first license for an inn, in Cambridge, appears to have been given in 1652, when "the townsmen granted liberty to Andrew Belcher, to sell beare and bread, for entertainment of strangers, and the good of the towne."‡

The inhabitants of Cambridge Village had become so numerous, by the year 1656, as to form a distinct congregation for public worship; and an annual abatement was made of "the one half of their proportion to the ministryes allowance, dureing the time they were provided of an able minister according to law."§

The same year, the inhabitants of Cambridge consented to pay each his proportion of a rate to the sum of £200, "towards the building a bridge over Charles River."‖ A bridge was erected, about the year 1660, and, for many

* Cambridge appears, in the first instance, to have contained merely a sufficient tract of land for a fortified town. Hence the early tendency of its inhabitants to emigration. By this second enlargement, it appears to have included the territory constituting the principal part of the present township of *Billerica*, and the whole township of *Lexington;* the former of which was incorporated May 29, 1655, and the latter, March 20, 1712. Cambridge Village was incorporated, by the name of *Newton*, December 8, 1691.

† Wonder-working Providence, C. XXVIII.

‡ Town Records.

§ Town Records. The first church in Cambridge Village [now Newton] was gathered July 20, 1664.

‖ Town Records.

years, was called "The Great Bridge." Not long after its erection, it was ordered that it should be "layd in oyle and lead."*

About this time, there was built in the town, "a house of correction;" which, in conjunction with other facts, indicates the early care of our ancestors to repress idleness and vice, and to encourage industry and economy. In 1656, certain persons were appointed by the selectmen, to execute the order of the General Court, for the improvement of all the families within the limitts of this towne, in spinning and cloathing."† The year following, James Hubbard had "liberty granted him to fell some small timber on the common, for the making him a loome."‡

Orchards must have been successfully cultivated, as early as the year 1662; for Mr. Mitchel was then "granted a tree for a cider presse:" and James Hubbard "timber for fencing his orchard."§

In September, 1665, five Mohawk Indians, "all stout and lusty young men," came, in the afternoon, into the house of Mr. John Taylor, in Cambridge. They were seen to come out of a swamp not far from the house. Each of them had a firelock gun, a pistol, a helved hatchet, a long knife hanging about his neck, and a pack, well furnished with powder, and bullets, and other necessary implements. The family giving immediate notice to the authority of the town, a constable, with a party of men, came to the house, and seized them without any resistance, and, by authority, committed them to prison. The English had heard much of the Mohawks, but had never seen any of them before. "At their being imprisoned, and their being loaden with irons, they did not appear daunted or dejected; but, as the manner of those Indians is, they sang night and day, when they were awake." Within a day or two after, they were removed from Cambridge to Boston prison, and were repeatedly examined by the Court, then in session. They alleged that they came not with any intention to do the least harm to the English, but to avenge themselves of the Indians, their enemies.

* A phrase, supposed to mean "painted."
† Town Records. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid.

The Court, at length, dismissed them, with a letter to their chief sachem, the purport of which was, to forbid the Mohawks, for the future, to kill any of the Indians under the protection of the English, and to come armed into any of the English towns. With this letter, and a convoy of horse to conduct them into the woods, clear of the Indians, their enemies, they were dimissed, and were heard of no more.*

To the moral and religious education of the children and youth in Cambridge, there appears to have been a regular and systematic attention. In 1668, some of the most respectable inhabitants were chosen "for katechiseing the youth of this towne." †

Mr. Mitchel died in 1668. "At a public meeting of the Church and Town," in 1669, "to consider of supply for the ministry, it was agreed, That there should be a house bought or built, to entertain a minister." ‡ For this purpose, the parish, the same year, sold "the church's farm," of six hundred acres, in Shawshin, (Billerica) for £230 sterling. Four acres of land were, soon after, purchased; on which, in 1670, a house was erected thirty-six feet long, and thirty feet wide, "this house to remaine the church's and to be the dwelling place of such a minister and officer, as the Lord shall be pleased to supply us withall, during the time he shall supply that place amongst us." §

The Church and Society now invited Mr. William Stoughton ‖ to become their minister; "but they were

* Gookin's Hist. Collect. † Church Records. ‡ Ibid.

§ Church Records. All the ministers, since Mr. Mitchell, have resided at the Parsonage. The front part of the present house, at the Parsonage, was built in 1720.

‖ The Honourable William Stoughton, Esquire, was a preacher of the gospel for several years. His Sermon, at the annual Election, has been ranked among the very best, delivered on that occasion. His Epitaph (which Mr. Clap, the late venerable town-clerk of Dorchester, told me, in his cautious manner, he believed *may have been* written by the Rev Mr. Danforth, of Dorchester) ascribes to him these traits:

Religione Sanctus,
Virtute clarus,
Doctrina Celebris,
Ingenio Acutus,
— — — — —
Impietatis & Vitii Hostis acerrimus.
Hunc Doctores laudant Theologum,
Hunc Pii venerantur Austerum.

denied."—"After some time of seeking God by prayer, the Lord was pleased to guide the church to make their application to Mr. Urian Oakes in Old England." Mr. William Manning was sent as a messenger with a letter from the church, and with another letter "sent by several Magistrates and Ministers, to invite him to come over and be an officer amongst them." * Mr. Oakes accepted the invitation, came to America, and was inducted into office, in 1671. In 1675, he was invited to the presidency of Harvard College, and was inducted into that office the same year. The charge of his flock, however, he did not entirely relinquish till his death.

In 1675, the selectmen appointed certain persons "to have inspection into familyes, that theare be noe by drinking or any misdemenor wheareby fine is committed, and persons from theare houses unseasonably." †

At a town meeting, in 1676, called "to consider about fortifieing of the towne against the Indians," it was judged necessary, "that something bee done for the fencing in the towne with a stockade, or sume thing equivalent." Materials were, accordingly, prepared: but king Philip's war being soon after terminated, the town ordered that the selectmen should "improve the timber, that was brought for the fortification, for the repairing of the Great Bridge." ‡ This bridge was rebuilt in 1690, at the expense of Cambridge and Newton, with some aid from the public treasury.

The extent of the town, and the provident and pious attention of its inhabitants to the support of the ministry, appear by a vote of January 8, 1682: "That 500 acres of the remote lands, lying between Woburn, Concord, and our head line, shall be laid out for the use and benefit of the ministry of this town and place, and to remain for that use forever." §

Mr. Oakes died in 1681. Mr. Nathaniel Gookin, who

With these excellent qualifications, however, he was never settled in the ministry. But, in civil life, he was eminently useful to the Commonwealth. He was repeatedly chosen its Lieut. Governor; and, for some years, was Commander in chief. He was a generous benefactor to Harvard College. Stoughton Hall was erected at his expense. See his Epitaph entire in Hist. Collections, II. 10.

* Church Records.
† Town Records.
‡ Town Records.
§ Ibid.

had been employed by the society as his assistant, during the latter part of his ministry, was now chosen his successor. He was ordained in 1682. He died in 1692.

Not long after his death, the church and society unanimously invited the celebrated Dr. Increase Mather to succeed him, in the ministry: but the reluctance of his people, (among whom he had then ministered 36 years) with other obstacles, prevented his acceptance of the invitation.

The Reverend William Brattle was, at length, chosen to this office; and was ordained in 1696. During his ministry, a formal and public relation of religious experiences, as a qualification for church fellowship, was, by a vote of the church, declared unnecessary; the business of examination was referred to the pastor and elders; and the consent of the church to the admission of a member was signified by silence, instead of a manual vote.

In 1700, the proprietors of the common and undivided lands in Cambridge gave the high way on the south side of Charles river, from the river to the road now leading to Roxbury, "for the use of the ministry in this town and place." * This highway lay to the eastward of the present one, on the south side of the river. Before the erection of the first bridge over Charles river, there was a ferry, from the wharf at Water street, in Cambridge, to this highway.

In 1706, the third church was erected in Cambridge, a little in front of the spot where the present church stands; and the first divine service was performed in it on the 13th of October.

On the petition of the farmers, "that they might be dismissed from the town, and be a township by themselves;" leave was given them, on certain conditions: and Cambridge Farms were incorporated, by the name of *Lexington*, in 1712.†

Mr. Brattle died in 1717; and was succeeded by the Reverend Nathaniel Appleton, who was ordained the same year.

A farm of 500 acres, lying at a remote part of Lexington, toward Bedford, "given in former time by the proprietors of the town for the use of the ministry in this

* Town Records. † Ibid.

town and place," was sold in 1719; and the avails (excepting £130 pounds for the erection of a new parsonage house) were appropriated to the establishment of an accumulating fund, for the purpose originally designed by the donation. It was Mr. Appleton's proposal, (which has been carried into effect) that the minister should receive two thirds of the interest, and that the other third should be added to the principal, that it might be "a growing estate." This fund by its own accumulation, and by the addition of the product of ministerial lands, sold in 1795, has become greatly auxiliary to the support of the ministry.

In 1732, the inhabitants of the north-westerly part of Cambridge were, by an act of the Legislature, formed into a distinct and separate Precinct. On the Lord's-day, September 9, 1730, a church was gathered in this precinct, by the Rev. Mr. Hancock, of Lexington: and, on the 12th of the same month, the Reverend Samuel Cooke was ordained its pastor. On this occasion, the first church in Cambridge voted, that £25 be given out of the church stock to the second church in Cambridge, "to furnish their communion table in a decent manner."*

In 1734, the town received £300 from the General Court, toward defraying the expense of repairing the Great Bridge over Charles river; and, together with a vote of thanks to the Court, voted thanks to Jacob Wendell, Esquire, and Mr. Cradock, for their kindness in procuring and collecting a very bountiful subscription for the same purpose.†

In 1736, a committee, chosen by the church to consult with the pastor respecting measures to promote a reformation, proposed and recommended to the church, as what they "apprehended might be serviceable for reviving religion, and suppressing growing disorders," that there be a number of wise, prudent and blameless Christians chosen among themselves, whose special care it should be, to inspect and observe the manners of profess-

* Church Records. The Rev. Mr. Cooke, "in whom," as his epitaph justly states, "were united the social friend, the man of science, the eminent and faithful clergyman," died June 4, 1783, in the 75th year of his age, and 44th of his ministry. He was succeeded by the Rev. Thaddeus Fiske, who was ordained April 23, 1788.

† Town Records.

ing Christians, and such as were under the care and watch of the church. The proposal was adopted, and a committee was appointed, for the purpose expressed in the recommendation. This committee, which was a kind of privy council to the minister, though without authority, appears to have been very serviceable to the interests of religion; and it was renewed annually, for the space of about fifty years.

In 1756, the present Court House in Cambridge was built.

The present church, in the First Parish in Cambridge, which is the fourth, built in this parish, was raised November 17, 1756; and divine service was first performed in it July 24, 1757. The bell, now in use, was given to the society, by Captain Andrew Belcher, in the year 1700; at which time the town gave "the little meeting-house bell to the farmers," or Lexington. The bible, for the pulpit, was the gift of the Honourable Jacob Wendell, Esquire, of Boston, in 1740. The present clock was procured by subscription in 1794.

In 1761, five or six gentlemen, each of whose income was judged to be adequate to the maintenance of a domestic chaplain, were desirous to have an episcopal church built, and a missionary fixed, at Cambridge. This year, accordingly, a church was erected: and the Reverend East Apthorp took charge of it, as missionary from the Society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts.*

* This church, called *Christ Church*, was opened October 15, MDCCLXI; and is considered, by connoisseurs in architecture, as one of the best constructed churches in New-England. Its model is said to have been taken from Italy. On its corner-stone is the following INSCRIPTION:

DEO. ÆTERNO.
PATRI. FILIO. SPIRITVI. S.
HANC. AEDEM.
SUB AVSPICIIS. ILLUSTRISS. SOCIETATIS.
PROMOVENDO. EVANGELIO.
IN. PARTIBUS. TRANSMARINIS.
INSTITUTAE.
CONSECRABANT. CANTABRIGIENSES.
ECCLESIAE. ANGLICANAE. FILII.
IN.
CHRISTIANAE. FIDEI. ET. CHARITATIS.
INCREMENTVM.
A. D. MDCCLX.
PROVINCIAM. PROCURANTE.
V. CL.
FRANCISCO. BERNARDO.

The inhabitants of Cambridge early discovered a zealous attachment to the liberties of their country. On the occasion of the memorable *Stamp Act*, it was voted, October 14, 1765, "as the opinion of the town, That the inhabitants of this Province have a legal claim to all the natural, inherent, constitutional rights of Englishmen, notwithstanding their distance from Great-Britain, and that the Stamp Act is an infraction upon these rights." After stating its oppressive tendency, the vote proceeds: "Let this Act but take place, Liberty will be no more; Trade will languish and die; our Medium will be sent into his Majesty's exchequer; and Poverty come upon us as an armed man. The town, therefore hereby advise and direct their representatives by no means whatsoever to do any one thing that may aid said Act in its operation; but that, in conjunction with the friends of liberty, they use their utmost endeavours that the same may be repealed: and that this vote be recorded in the Town Books, that the children yet unborn may see the desire that their ancestors had for their freedom and happiness."*

At a meeting of the proprietors of the common and undivided lands in Cambridge, in 1769, "all the common lands, belonging to the proprietors, fronting the college, commonly called the Town Commons, not heretofore granted or allotted to any particular person, or for any special or particular use," were "granted to the town of Cambridge, to be used as a Training Field, to lie undivided, and to remain for that use forever."†

The election of counsellors for the Province of Massachusetts was holden at Cambridge, in May, 1770, by order of Governor Hutchinson; in opposition to the Charter, and to the sense of the whole Province.

On the imposition of a duty on teas imported to America, by the East-India Company, several spirited resolves of the town of Cambridge, November 26, 1773, were

Mr. Apthorp was educated at Jesus College, in the University of Cambridge, in England, of which he was afterwards a Fellow. He proceeded A. B. in 1755, and has since received the degree of D. D. from one of the English Universities. Within a few years after his settlement at Cambridge, he went to England, and became settled in London, where he is still living.

* Town Records. † Proprietors' Records.

closed with the following: "That this Town can no longer stand idle spectators, but are ready, on the shortest notice, to join with the town of Boston, and other towns, in any measures that may be thought proper, to deliver ourselves and posterity from slavery." *

On the great question, "Whether if Congress should, for the safety of the Colonies, declare them independent of Great-Britain, the town would support them in the measure:" the inhabitants of Cambridge, May 27, 1776, unanimously and solemnly engaged such support, with their lives and fortunes.†

From the commencement of hostilities at Lexington, April 18, 1775, the tranquillity of Cambridge was, for several years, interrupted, by the tumult of war. Many of the inhabitants left the town, and retired into the interior parts of the country. The Seat of the Muses was now occupied by soldiers. It was at Cambridge that General Washington fixed his first encampment; and this was the place of the head-quarters of the American army, till the evacuation of Boston, by the British troops, in 1776. During this period the college was assembled at Concord.

On the capture of General Burgoyne, in 1777, he, and his captured troops, were located at Cambridge, under the superintendence of General Heath, as prisoners of war.

The present Constitution of Massachusetts was framed at Cambridge, in 1779, by a Convention chosen by the several towns in the Commonwealth. It was referred to the consideration of another Convention. The inhabitants of Cambridge, after proposing several amendments, gave an example of a liberal patriotism, essential to every republican government, which must rest on the will of the majority. "Willing to give up their own opinion in lesser matters, in order to obtain a government whose authority might not be disputed, and which they wished might soon be established;" they instructed their representative to the Convention, "in their name and behalf, to ratify and confirm the proposed form, whether the amendments be made, or not." ‡

In 1780, the church members on the south side of Charles river in Cambridge presented a petition to the

* Town Records. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

church, "signifying their desire to be dismissed, and incorporated into a distinct church, for enjoying the special ordinances of the gospel more conveniently by themselves." The church voted a compliance with their petition; and they were incorporated on the 23d of February, 1783. The Reverend John Foster was ordained to their pastoral charge, November 4, 1784.

In 1783, in consideration of the "very advanced age, and growing infirmities," of Dr. Appleton, a day of fasting and prayer was observed by the church and congregation, "to seek of God divine direction and assistance in the important affair of procuring a more fixed and settled preaching and administration of the word and ordinances among them." A few days after, "at the general desire of the brethren of the church, as well as in compliance with his own inclination and earnest wishes," Dr. Appleton appointed a meeting of the brethren of the church, for the purpose of choosing a colleague, for his assistance in the ministry. The church, accordingly, chose the Reverend Timothy Hilliard: and, the society concurring in the choice, he was installed the same year.

The aged and venerable Dr. Appleton, having, agreeably to his desire, lived to see his country again blest with peace, and his church furnished with a worthy pastor, departed this life, with calmness and resignation, early in the year 1784.

In 1786, the present alms-house, in Cambridge, was purchased, repaired, and devoted to the use of the poor of the town.

The conduct of the town of Cambridge, in the memorable Insurrection of 1786, was highly to its honour. A letter was directed to the Selectmen of Cambridge, written by desire of a meeting of Committees from several towns in the county of Middlesex, "requesting their concurrence in a County convention to be held at Concord on the 23d of August, in order to consult upon matters of public grievances, and find out means of redress." The letter being laid before the town, a vote was passed, "That the Selectmen be desired to answer said letter, and express the attachment of this town to the present constitution and administration of Government, and also

to express our aversion to use any irregular means for compassing an end which the constitution has already provided for; as we know of no Grievances the present system of Government is inadequate to redress."*

Mr. Hilliard died in 1790. He was succeeded in the ministry by the Compiler of this History, in 1792.

A "Friendly Fire Society," consisting of twenty-eight persons, was formed in this town, in 1797. The object of this association is, to prevent, or mitigate, the evils occasioned by fire. It annually chooses a Chairman, Treasurer, Clerk, and Wardens; and already possesses a decent fund.

The Kine-Pox was introduced at Cambridge, this present year, by Professor Waterhouse, who imported the *matter* from England. The first who was inoculated for this disorder, in America, was Daniel Oliver Waterhouse, a son of the Professor.

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FIRST CHURCH IN CAMBRIDGE.

| Succession of Ministers. | Time of Settlement. | Time of Decease. | Age. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Rev. Thomas Hooker and Samuel Stone | At Camb. Oct. 11, 1633; removed with their chh. to Hartford, 1636. | July 7, 1647. July 20, 1663. | 61 |
| Thomas Shepard | ——— 1636. | Aug. 25, 1649. | 44 |
| Jonathan Mitchel | Aug. 21, 1650. | July 9, 1668. | 43 |
| Urian Oakes | Nov. 8, 1671. | July 25, 1681. | 50 |
| Nathaniel Gookin | Nov. 15, 1682. | Aug. 7, 1692. | 34 |
| William Brattle, F. R. S. | Nov. 25, 1696. | Feb. 15, 1717. | 55 |
| Nathl. Appleton, D. D. | Oct. 9, 1717. | Feb. 9, 1784. | 91 |
| Timothy Hilliard | Oct. 27, 1783. | May 9, 1790. | 44 |
| Abiel Holmes | Jan. 25, 1792. | | |

*A* BIOGRAPHICAL *Sketch of the* MINISTERS *of* CAMBRIDGE.

## Mr. HOOKER.

THE Reverend THOMAS HOOKER, the first minister of Cambridge, and the father of the colony, as well as of the churches, of Connecticut, was born at Marfield, in Leicestershire, in 1586. He was educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, in England, where he was afterwards promoted to a fellowship, in which office "he acquitted

* Town Records.

himself with such ability and faithfulness, as commanded universal approbation and applause." Upon his leaving the University, he preached occasionally for some time in London; till, at length, in 1626, he was chosen Lecturer at Chelmsford. Here he preached, with great success, for several years, and was so well beloved by the neighbouring clergy, that, when the Bishop of London silenced him for Nonconformity, forty-seven of them signed a petition in his favour, testifying, *That Mr. Hooker was orthodox in doctrine, honest and sober in his life and conversation, of a peaceable disposition, and no ways turbulent or factious.* But this petition had no effect on the imperious and inexorable *Laud.* Mr. Hooker was constrained to lay down his ministry; and he set up a Grammar School at a village in the neighbourhood of Chelmsford. At the next visitation, however, he was cited by the Bishop to appear before the High Commission Court. Thus cruelly persecuted, he absconded, and went to Holland, where he lived two or three years, preaching sometimes at Delft, and sometimes at Rotterdam.

In 1633, he came to New-England; * and, though he had been "ordained a presbyter by a bishop in England," he was ordained "then again by the brethren at Newtown." † He was a man of "the most exemplary

* The reasons of Mr. Hooker's removal to New-England are stated in a letter of the Rev. Mr. Cotton, preserved in Gov. Hutchinson's "Collection of Papers."—"The questions you demand, I had rather answer by word of mouth, than by letter, yet I will not refuse to give you account of my brother Hookers removall and mine owne, seinge you require a reason thereof from us both. We both of us concurre in a 3 fold ground of removal. 1. God havinge shut a doore against both of us from ministringe to him and his people in our wonted congregations, and calling us by a remnant of our people, and by others of this countrye, to minister to them here, and opening a dore to us this way, who are we that we should strive against God and refuse to follow the concurrence of his ordinance and providence together, callinge us forth to minister here. If we may and ought to follow God's callinge 3 hundred myles, why not three thousand? 2. Our Saviors warrant is in our case, that when we are distressed in our course in one country (nequid dicam gravius) we should flee to another. 3. It hath been noe small inducement to us, to choose rather to remove hither, than to stay there, that we might enjoye the libertye, not of some ordinances of God, but of all, and all in purity."——See the reasons more fully stated in Mr. Cotton's letter: Hutch. Coll. p. 54.

† President Stiles's Election Sermon, second edition, 103.

piety, self-denial, patience, and goodness.—In his day, he was one of the most animated and powerful preachers in New-England. In his sermons, he was searching, experimental, and practical." In disputation he was eminent. During his residence in Holland, he became intimately acquainted with the celebrated Dr. *Ames*, author of *Medulla Theologiæ*, who declared, that "though he had been acquainted with many scholars, of divers nations, yet he never met with Mr. Hooker's equal, either for preaching, or for disputing." * In prayer he excelled. "In conversation he was pleasant and entertaining, but always grave. He was exceedingly prudent in the management of church discipline.—He was affable, condescending, and charitable; yet his appearance and conduct were with such becoming majesty, authority, and prudence, that he could do more with a word, or a look, than other men could do with a severe discipline." It was not uncommon for him to give away five or ten pounds, at a time, to persons in indigence. He died of an epidemical fever, July 7, 1647, ætat. LXII. "He had for many years enjoyed a comfortable assurance of his renewed estate, and when dying said, *I am going to receive mercy.* He closed his own eyes, and appeared to die with a smile on his countenance." † He published, in his life time, several practical treatises; and his friends, after his death, published several of his sermons, which were well received. "Mr. Hooker's books (says a contemporary writer) are of great request among the faithful people of Christ." His principal work, entitled, "A Survey of the summe of Church-Discipline," was transcribed "under the eye and exact review of the eminently accomplisht author himselfe," and sent over to be published in England, about a year before his death. "But it was then buried," says Dr. Goodwin, "in the rude waves of the vast ocean, with many precious saints on their passage

* Magnalia, III. 61. Dr. Ames designed to follow Mr. Hooker; but he died soon after Mr. Hooker's removal from Rotterdam. His widow and children came afterward to New-England, where they found in Mr. Hooker, a faithful friend and beneficent patron.

The great Mr. Cotton pronounced Mr. Hooker *Vir solertis ingenii, atque acerrimi judicii.*

† Trumbull's Hist. Connecticut. See, also, Mather's Magnalia, B. III. p. 58—68.

hither." Another copy of it, however, was sent to England, and published in 1648, under the inspection of the celebrated Dr. Thomas Goodwin, (a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and some time President of Magdalen College in Oxford) who says, "As touching this Treatise and the worthy author of it—to preface any thing by commendation of either were to lay paint upon burnished marble, or add light unto the sun."

There is no inscription on Mr. Hooker's tombstone. An Historian,* who, in general, is not entitled to credence, says truly: "The tomb of Mr. Hooker is viewed with great reverence."

## Mr. STONE.

The Reverend Samuel Stone, Mr. Hooker's assistant in the ministry, was educated at Emanuel College, in Cambridge. "He was eminently pious and exemplary; abounded in fastings and prayer; and was a most strict observer of the christian sabbath.—His sermons were doctrinal, replete with sentiment, concisely and closely applied. He was esteemed one of the most accurate and acute disputants of his day. He was celebrated for his great wit, pleasantry, and good humour. His company was courted by all gentlemen of learning and ingenuity, who had the happiness of an acquaintance with him."† After a ministry of thirty years, he died July 20, 1663.

### His Epitaph.

New England's glory and her radiant crown
Was he who now in softest bed of down
Till glorious Resurrection morn appear
Doth safely, sweetly sleep in Jesus here.
In nature's solid art and reasoning well
Tis known beyond compare he did excell.
Errors corrupt by sinnewous dispute
He did oppugne and clearly them confute.
Above all things he Christ above prefer'd:
Hartford! thy richest Jewel's here interr'd.

* Peters.

† Trumbull's History of Connecticut, I. 326: and New-England's Memorial, 179. For a more particular account of Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone, see Mather's Magnalia, III. 58 & 116.

## Mr. SHEPARD.

The Reverend THOMAS SHEPARD was born in Towcester, near Northampton, in Great-Britain, November 5, 1605. He was the son of Mr. William Shepard, who called him *Thomas*, because his birth was supposed to be at the very hour, when the Gunpowder Treason was designed to be perpetrated; a plot, concerning which he observed, "This child of his would *hardly believe* that ever such wickedness could be attempted by the sons of men." At the age of fifteen, he became prepared for the university, and entered Emanuel College in Cambridge. Here, after a residence of about two years, he was impressed with very powerful convictions of his misery in unregeneracy, which, though occasionally suspended, were effectually renewed through the instrumentality of that celebrated Divine, Dr. Preston, in 1624. From this time, he gave himself to daily meditation, which he attended every evening before supper.—Having proceeded A. M. at Cambridge, he accepted an invitation to Earl's Coln, where he held a lecture, supported by the pious charity of Dr. Wilson, for three years. At the close of this term, the inhabitants of Earl's Coln were so reluctant to part with him, that they raised a salary among themselves for his support; and prevailed on him to continue with them. Although he was yet a young man, there was an unusual majesty and energy in his preaching, and a holiness in his life, which rendered him eminently useful to his own people, and to the towns in the vicinity, from which several afterwards accompanied him to New-England, to enjoy the benefit of his ministry.

When Dr. Laud became bishop of London, Mr. Shepard was silenced for his Puritanism. Being invited into Yorkshire, he officiated there, for some time, as a private chaplain, in the family of Sir Richard Darly, whose near kinswoman he afterwards married. To that family and neighbourhood he appears to have been a great blessing. Bishop Neal refusing him liberty for his ministry without *subscription*, he removed to Heddon, in Northumberland, where his labours were very successful. But the zeal of the bishop reached him, even in this remote corner of the

kingdom, and prohibited him from preaching here any more.*

The removal of Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Stone, and others, to America had already excited many pious people, in various parts of England, to contemplate a similar removal. Several of Mr. Shepard's friends, in New-England, and others who purposed a removal, uniting their solicitations, at this juncture, he resolved to repair to this new plantation. Having, accordingly, preached his farewell sermon at Newcastle, he went in disguise to Ipswich, and thence to Earl's Coln; whence, accompanied by Mr. Norton, he went to Yarmouth, intending to embark there for New-England. Pursuivants, however, were employed to apprehend him. These pursuivants, having discovered Mr. Shepard's quarters, had, by a sum of money, obtained a promise, from a boy belong-

* The following extract from Mr. Shephard's MS. Diary, furnishes an interesting specimen of the barbarous treatment, which our pious ancestors received under the inquisitorial domination of bishop Laud; "Dec. 16, 1630. I was inhibited from preaching in the Diocess of London, by Doctor Laud, bishop of that Diocess. As soon as I came in the morning, about 8 of the clock, falling into a fit of rage he asked me, *What degree I had taken at the University?* I answered him I was a Master of Arts. He asked, *Of what College?* I answered, Of Emanuel. He asked, *How long I had lived in his Diocess?* I answered, Three years and upwards. He asked, *Who maintained me all this while?* charging me to deal plainly with him, adding withal, that he had been more cheated and equivocated with by some of my malignant Faction than ever was man by Jesuit. At the speaking of which words he look'd as tho' blood would have gush'd out of his face, and did shake as if he had been haunted with an Ague Fit, to my apprehension, by reason of his extream malice and secret venom. I desired him to excuse me: He fell then to threaten me, and withal to bitter railing, calling me all to naught, saying, *You prating coxcomb! Do you think all the Learning is in your brain?* He pronounced his sentence thus: *I charge you, that you neither Preach, Read, Marry, Bury, or exercise any Ministerial Function in any part of my Diocess; for if you do, and I hear of it, I'll be upon your back, and follow you wherever you go, in any part of the kingdom, and so everlastingly disenable you.* I besought him not to deal so, in regard of a poor Town; and here he stopt me in what I was going on to say, *A poor Town! you have made a company of seditious factious Bedlams; and what do you prate to me of a poor Town?* I prayed him to suffer me to cathechise in the Sabbath Days in the afternoon: He replied, *Spare your breath, I'll have no such fellows prate in my Diocess, get you gone, and now make your complaints to whom you will.* So away I went; and blessed be God that I may go to him."

ing to the house where he lodged, to open the door for them at a certain hour of the night. But by the singular providence of God, the design was frustrated. Some serious expressions of Mr. Shepard being uttered in the hearing of this boy, he was struck with horror at the thought, that he should be so wicked as to betray so good a man; and, with tears, discovered the whole plot to his pious master, who took care immediately to convey Mr. Shepard out of the reach of his enemies.

Toward the close of the year 1634, Mr. Shepard embarked at Harwich; but in a few hours the ship was driven back into Yarmouth road, where arose one of the most tremendous storms ever known. The ship was almost miraculously saved, but so materially damaged that the proposed voyage was relinquished.* Mr. Shepard, after spending the winter at Bastwick, went, in the spring, to London, where, by a removal of his lodgings, he again narrowly escaped his pursuivants. In July, he sailed from Gravesend, and, on the third of October, 1635, after a hazardous voyage, he arrived at Boston. His friends at Newtown [Cambridge] soon conducted him to that infant settlement, destined to be the field of his future labours.

After a diligent, laborious, and successful ministry, he died of the quincy, August 25, 1649, ætat. XLIV. On his death-bed, he said to the young ministers around him, "That their work was great, and called for great seriousness;" and mentioned to them three things concerning himself: "That the study of every sermon cost him tears; That before he preached any Sermon he got good by it himself; and, That he always went into the pulpit, as if he were to give up his accounts to his Master."

He is said to have been "a poore, weake, pale complectioned man." He was distinguished for his humility and piety; and as a preacher of evangelical truth, and an author on experimental religion, he was one of the foremost

* "In the meane time the master, and other seamen, made a strange construction of the sore storme they met withal, saying, their ship was bewitched; and therefore made use of the common charme ignorant people use, nailing two red hot horse shoos to their maine mast."
*Wonder-working Providence.*

of his day.* He was an influential patron of learning, as well as of religion, and was zealous in promoting the interests of the infant college, as well as those of the infant church, at Cambridge.† "By his death, not only the church and people at Cambridge, but also all New-England, sustained a very great loss. He not only preached the gospel profitably and successfully, but also left behind him divers worthy works of special use, in reference unto the clearing up the state of the soul toward God." ‡

* President Edwards styles Mr. Shepard "that famous experimental divine;" and, in his very judicious and elaborate "Treatise concerning Religious Affections," makes a greater use of his writings, particularly of his "Parable of the Ten Virgins," than of any other writings whatever.

Johnson, who wrote a few years after Mr. Shepard's death, says: "Thousands of souls have cause to blesse God for him even at this very day, who are the seal of his ministrey, and hee a man of a thousand, imdued with abundance of true saving knowledge for himselfe and others." §—Later writers have not overlooked Mr. Shepard's antiquated merit. Dr. Mayhew, in one of his controversial essays, mentions him as a person of great note in his day, and a learned man. Dr. Chauncy, in his "Seasonable Thoughts," quotes him with great respect, styling him, in different parts of his work, "the memorable" "the celebrated," "the famous" Shepard.

† In 1644, he wrote to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, representing the necessity of further assistance for needy scholars at Cambridge; and desired them to encourage a general contribution through the colonies. The Commissioners approved the motion, and recommended it to the consideration of the Legislatures of the several colonies, which adopted the recommendation; and an annual contribution was, accordingly, made through the United Colonies, for many subsequent years. *Trumbull's Hist. Connect. I.* 148. *Hazard's Hist. Collections, II.* 17, *where Mr. Shepard's Proposition to the Commissioners is preserved entire.*

‡ Morton.—Mr. Shepard's monument is not now distinguishable among the tombs. In the burying ground in Cambridge, there are several monuments, of hard stone, with incisions, evidently designed to admit a softer stone with an inscription. By the ravages of time, or of sacrilegious hands, these inlet stones are now removed, and the inscriptions are unhappily lost. But for this injury, we might, perhaps, now have the melancholy pleasure of visiting the monuments

§ *Wonder-working Providence,* xxxiv. *This very scarce and valuable book, (obligingly put into my hands by the venerable antiquarian Judge Cranch, of Quincy,) was first published without the author's name; and afterward, erroneously ascribed to Sir F. Gorges. The real author was Mr. Johnson, of Woburn, in N. England.* See Preface of Prince's Chron. ii.

Mr. Shepard's printed works are: *Theses Sabbaticæ*, "in which he hath handled the morality of the sabbath, with a degree of reason, reading, and religion, which is truly extraordinary." [C. Mather.]

A Discourse, in which is handled the controversy of the Catholic visible church, "tending to clear up the old way of Christ, in the churches of New-England."

A Letter on "The church membership of children, and their right to baptisme." *The letter was printed at Cambridge*, 1663.

A Letter, entitled, "New-England's Lamentation for Old England's errors."

A Sermon, entitled, "Cautions against spiritual drunkenness."

A Treatise, entitled, "Subjection to Christ, in all his Ordinances and Appointments, the best means to preserve our liberty:" to which is subjoined another Treatise, "Concerning ineffectual hearing of the Word."

"The Sincere Convert," which the author called his ragged child, on account of its incorrectness, it having been surreptitiously published.

"The Sound Believer," which is a discriminating Treatise on Evangelical Conversion.

"The Parable of the Ten Virgins," a posthumous work, in folio, transcribed from his sermons, preached at his Lecture from June 1636 to May 1640; concerning which the venerable divines Greenhil, Calamy, Ash, and Taylor observed, "That though a vein of serious, solid and hearty piety run through all this author's works; yet he hath reserved the best wine till the last."

"Singing of Psalmes a Gospel-Ordinance," which, in the title-page, is said to be "By John Cotton, Teacher of the Church at Boston in New-England;" but which was really, in substance, the work of Mr. Shepard. On a blank leaf of the copy now before me, there is the following memorandum, probably written by the Rev.

of the pious and renowned Shepard and Mitchel, and of others, of revered memory.—The slab, which covered the grave of the great President Chauncy, is broken into three pieces; and the fragments are *carefully* laid aside. A line of Horace would form an apposite inscription for the tomb of many a great and good man:

Oblitusque meorum obliviscendus et illis.

Thomas Shepard, of Charlestown, whose name is on the book: "Mr. Edward Bulkley, pastor of the church of Christ in Concord, told me Sept. 20, 1674, that when he boarded at Mr. Cotton's house at the first coming forth of this book of singing of Psalmes, Mr. Cotton told him that my father Shepard had the chief hand in the composing of it, and therefore Mr. Cotton said, I am troubled that my brother Shepard's name is not prefixed to it."—It is a quarto, of 72 pages, and was printed at London, in 1647.

"The clear Sun-shine of the Gospel upon the Indians," published in London 1648.

Neal mentions a work of Mr. Shepard, entitled, "Evangelical Call," as one of his most noted Treatises. I find no notice of it elsewhere.

"Select Cases resolved:" "First Principles of the Oracles of God, or, Sum of Christian Religion:" "Meditations and Spiritual Experiences," extracted from Mr. Shepard's Private Diary. These three were published by the Rev. Mr. Prince, of Boston, (the last of them from the original MS.) in 1747. The Select Cases and First Principles were published together, first at London, and then at Edinburgh, in 1648; and have, since, passed through several editions.

## Mr. MITCHEL.

The Reverend Jonathan Mitchel was born at Halifax, in Yorkshire, in Great-Britain, in 1624. His parents were exemplary Christians, who, by the impositions and persecutions of the English hierarchy, were constrained to seek an asylum in New-England, in 1635; at which time they brought over their son Jonathan, then eleven years of age. Their first settlement was at Concord, in Massachusetts; whence, a year after, they removed to Saybrook, in Connecticut; and, not long after, to Wethersfield. Their next removal was to Stamford; where Mr. Mitchel, the father, died in 1645, ætat. lv.

The classical studies of his son Jonathan were suspended for several years, after his arrival in America; but, "on the earnest advice of some that had observed his great capacity," they were at length, resumed, in 1642.*

* C. Mather. Dr. Increase Mather ascribes this measure to his father's influence. "After Mr. Mitchel was arrived in New-Eng-

In 1645, at the age of twenty-one, he entered Harvard College. Here, he became religiously impressed, under Mr. Shepard's ministry, which he so highly estimated as, afterward, to observe, "Unless it had been four years living in heaven, I know not how I could have more cause to bless God with wonder, than for those four years," spent at the University. He was an indefatigable student, and made great acquirements in knowledge and virtue. His extraordinary learning, wisdom, gravity, and piety, occasioned an early application of several of the most considerable churches, for his services in the ministry. The church at Hartford, in particular, sent for him with the intention of his becoming successor to the famous Mr. Hooker. He preached his first sermon at Hartford, June 24, 1649; and, on the day following, was invited to a settlement in the ministry, in that respectable town. Having, however, been previously importuned by Mr. Shepard, and the principal members of his society, to return to Cambridge, free from any engagement, with a view to a settlement there; he declined an acceptance of the invitation at Hartford, and returned to Cambridge, where he preached for the first time August 12, 1649. Here a providential opening was soon made for his induction into the ministry. Mr. Shepard died on the 25th of the same month; and, by the unanimous desire of the people of Cambridge, Mr. Mitchel was now invited to become his successor. He accepted the invitation; and was ordained August 21, 1650.

Soon after his settlement, he was called to a peculiar trial. President Dunster, who had formerly been his tutor, about this time imbibed the principle of antipedobaptism; and preached some sermons against the administration of baptism to any infant whatever. Mr. Mitchel, young as he then was, felt it incumbent on him openly to combat this principle; and conducted, in this delicate and difficult case, with such judgment, moderation, and *meekness of wisdom*, as would have well become the experience and improvement of advanced age. Although

land, he employed his son Jonathan in secular affairs; but the spirit of the child was strongly set for learning, and he prayed my father to persuade his father that he might have a learned education. My father's persuasions happily prevailed."

this controversy occasioned the President's removal from Cambridge; yet Mr. Mitchel continued to cultivate an esteem for him, and after his decease, paid a respectful tribute to his memory, in an elegy, replete with expressions of that noble and catholic spirit, which characterized its author.*

Such were his literary acquirements, and so respectable his character, that, so early as the year 1650, he was chosen a Tutor and a Fellow of Harvard College.†

He was a very influential member of the Synod, which met at Boston in 1662, to discuss and settle an interesting question concerning church-membership and church-discipline, and chiefly composed the Result of that synod. "The determination of the question at last," says Dr. Mather, "was more owing to him than to any man in the world." The divine Head of the church "made this great man, even while he was yet a young man, one of the greatest instruments we ever had of explaining and maintaining the truths relating to the *church-state* of the *posterity* in our churches, and of the *church-care* which our churches owe to their posterity."‡—He was a man of singular acuteness, prudence, and moderation; and was, therefore, eminently qualified to discern the truth, in difficult and perplexing cases, and to adjust the differences of disputants.§ Hence, in ecclesiastical Councils, to which he was frequently invited, and in weighty cases, where the General Court frequently consulted the ministers, "the *sense* and *hand* of no man was relied more

* The conduct of both parties, on this occasion, does them singular honour; and furnishes an example worthy of imitation in the present age, an age which is frequently censuring the bigotry of the pious ancestors of New-England, in contrast with its own catholicism. President Dunster "died in such harmony of affection with the good men, who had been the authors of his removal from Cambridge, that he, by his Will, ordered his body to be carried to Cambridge for its burial, and bequeathed legacies to those very persons. *Magnalia*, III. 100. IV. 158.

† Mr. Samuel Mather, and Mr. Mitchel were the first that were elected Fellows in this seminary. In the infancy of the institution, a Tutor was, ex officio, a Fellow of the college.

‡ Magnalia.

§ The celebrated Mr. Baxter said of him, "If an Œcumenical Council could be obtained, Mr. Mitchel were worthy to be its moderator." *C. Mather.*

upon than his, for the exact result of all." The great President Chauncey, though much older than he, and though openly opposed to him at the Synod, said, at the very height of the controversy: "I know no man in this world that I could envy so much as worthy Mr. Mitchel, for the great holiness, learning, wisdom, and meekness, and other qualities of an excellent spirit, with which the Lord Jesus Christ hath adorned him."

Morton, who was contemporary with Mr. Mitchel, says: "He was a person that held very near communion with God; eminent in wisdom, piety, humility, love, self-denial, and of a compassionate and tender heart;* surpassing in public spiritedness; a mighty man in prayer, and eminent at standing in the gap; he was zealous for order, and faithful in asserting the truth against all oppugners of it."†

Dr. Increase Mather, who was personally and intimately acquainted with him, says: "He was blessed with admirable natural as well as acquired parts. His judgment was solid, deep, and penetrating; his memory was strong, and vastly capacious. He wrote his sermons very largely; and then used, with enlargements, to commit all to his memory, without once looking into his bible, after he had named his text; and yet his sermons were scriptural."

As a preacher, he was distinguished for "an extraordinary invention, curious disposition, and copious application." His voice was melodious, and his delivery is said to have been "inimitable." He spoke with "a transcendent majesty and liveliness," and toward the close of his discourses, his fervency rose to "a marvellous measure of energy."

He was pastor of the church of Cambridge about eighteen years; and "was most intense and faithful" in his work. "He went through a great part of the body of divinity; made a very excellent exposition of the book of Genesis, and part of Exodus, and delivered many fruit-

* Colonel Whalley and Colonel Goffe, two of the Judges of king Charles I. on the day of their arrival in New-England, July 1660, came to Cambridge, where they resided till February following, and were treated with the kindest hospitality and friendship by Mr. Mitchel, who admitted them to the sacrament, and to private meetings for devotion. *Hutchinson's Hist. of Massachusetts*, I. 215. *President Stiles's Hist. of Three of the Judges of Charles I.* 28.

† New England's Memorial, 201.

ful and profitable sermons on the four first chapters of John." He held, also, a monthly Lecture, which was "abundantly frequented," by the people of the neighbouring towns, as well as by his own society. "His race was but short, but the work he did was very much."—Just after he had been preaching on these words, *I know that thou wilt bring me to death, and unto the house appointed for all the living*, as he came out of the pulpit, he was seized with a fever, which terminated his life, July 9, 1668, in the forty-third year of his age, and eighteenth of his ministry.

Dr. I. Mather says, he "never knew any death that caused so great a mourning and lamentation generally: He was greatly loved and honoured throughout all the churches, as well as in *Cambridge*, and admired by the most competent judges of real worth."

Very few of his writings were ever published. I can obtain notice of the following only:

A Letter of counsel to his brother, written while he resided at the University;

An Election Sermon, on Nehem. ii. 10, entitled "Nehemiah upon the wall;" preached May 15, 1667; and printed at Cambridge;

A Letter concerning the subject of Baptisme, printed at Cambridge, 1675;

"A Discourse of the Glory to which God hath called Believers by Jesus Christ," printed at London, after his death, with the Letter to his brother affixed; and reprinted at Boston, in a duodecimo volume, in 1721.

## Mr. OAKES.

The Reverend Urian Oakes was born in England about the year 1631; and was brought to America in his childhood. From this early period, he was distinguished for the sweetness of his disposition, which characterized him through life. He was educated at Harvard College, where he graduated in 1649. While very young, and small, he published, at Cambridge, a set of *Astronomical Calculations*, with this apposite motto:

Parvum parva decent, sed inest sua gratia parvis.

Soon after his graduation, he went to England, where,

after having been some time a chaplain to an eminent personage, he became settled in the ministry at Titchfield. Being silenced, however, in 1662, in common with the nonconformist ministers throughout the nation (by Act xiv. Car. 2); he resided a while in the family of Colonel Norton, a man of great merit and respectability, who, on this occasion, afforded him an asylum. When the violence of the persecution abated, he returned to the exercise of his ministry in another congregation, as colleague with Mr. Simmons. Such was his celebrity for learning and piety, for ministerial abilities and fidelity, that the church and society of Cambridge, on the decease of Mr. Mitchel, were induced to invite him to their pastoral charge. They sent a messenger to England, to present him with the invitation; which, with the approbation of a council of ministers, he accepted. After repeated delays, occasioned by the sickness and death of his wife, and by a subsequent personal illness, he came to America, and commenced his ministry at Cambridge, November 8, 1671.

So distinguished was he for his learning and abilities, and for his patronage of the interests of literature, that, in 1675, he was invited to the presidency of Harvard College, as successor to President Hoar. He accepted the invitation; and officiated as President, still retaining the charge of his flock, for about six years, when his useful life was suddenly brought to a close. He had been subject to a quartan ague, which often interrupted his public services. A malignant fever now seized him, and, in a day or two, proved mortal. His congregation, assembling on a Lord's-day, when the Lord's Supper was to have been administered, were affectingly surprised to find their respected and beloved pastor in the pangs of death. He died July 25, 1681, in the fiftieth year of his age, and tenth of his ministry at Cambridge.

He was eminent for his knowledge and piety, and was a very engaging and useful preacher. "Considered as a scholar, he was," says Dr. C. Mather, "a notable critic in all the points of learning; and well versed in every point of the *Great Circle*."*—"He did the service of a

* Dr. C. Mather, who was educated under his presidency, has preserved, in one of his publications, a specimen of his Latin compo-

President, even as he did all other services, faithfully, learnedly, indefatigably." Dr. Increase Mather, whose characters appear to be drawn with more exact discrimination than those of his son Cotton, says: "An age doth seldom produce one so many ways excelling, as this Author * was. If we consider him as a *Divine*, as a *Scholar*, as a *Christian*, it is hard to say in which he did most excel. I have often in my thoughts compared him to Samuel among the prophets of old; inasmuch as he did truly *fear God from his youth*, and was *betimes* improved in *holy ministrations*, and was at last called to be *Head* of the *sons of the prophets*, in this New English Israel, as Samuel was President of the College at Naioth. In many other particulars, I might enlarge upon the parallel, but that it is inconvenient to extend such instances beyond their proportion.

——*Heu, tua nobis*
*Morte simul tecum solatia rapta!*

It may, without reflection upon any, be said, that he was one of the greatest lights, that ever shone in this part of the world, or that is ever like to arise in our horizon."

The only publications of Mr. Oakes, of which I find any account, are:

An Artillery Election Sermon, on Rom. viii. 37, preached June 3, 1672;

An Election Sermon on Deut. xxxii. 29, preached May 7, 1673;

An Elegy on the Rev. Thomas Shepard, Pastor of the church in Charlestown, [son of Mr. Shepard, minister of Cambridge] who died Dec. 22, 1667. [They were all printed at Cambridge, by Samuel Green; and are preserved in the Library of the Historical Society.]

sition, which is very classical and elegant. In his judgment, "America never had a greater master of the true, pure, Ciceronian Latin," than President Oakes. He appears to have had a poetical genius. An Elegy, of considerable length, written by him on the Rev. Mr. Shepard, of Charlestown, rises, in my judgment, far above the poetry of his day. It is of Pindaric measure, and is plaintive, pathetic, and replete with imagery.

* This paragraph is extracted from the Preface of Dr. Increase Mather to a Discourse of Mr. Oakes, published soon after the Author's decease.

His epitaph, though not now distinctly legible on his tomb-stone, is preserved in Mather's Magnalia, and is as follows:

URIANI OAKESII,
Cujus, quod reliquum est,
clauditur hoc tumulo;
Exploratâ integritate, summa morum gravitate,
Omniumque meliorum Artium insigni Peritiâ,
Spectatissimi, Clarissimique ommibus modis Viri,
Theologi, merito suo, celeberrimi,
Concionatoris vere Melliflui,
Cantabrigiensis Ecclesiæ, Doctissimi et Orthodoxi Pastoris,
In Collegio Harvardino Præsidis Vigilantissimi,
Maximam Pietatis, Eruditionis, Facundiæ Laudem
Adepti;
Qui repentinâ morte subitò correptus,
In JESU sinum efflavit animam,
Julii XXV. A. D. M. DC. LXXXI.
Memoriæ.
Etatis suæ L.
Plurima quid referam, satis est si dixeris Unum,
Hoc Dictu satis est, *Hic jacit* OAKESIUS.

## MR. GOOKIN.

The Reverend NATHANIEL GOOKIN was educated at Harvard College, where he graduated in 1675. On Mr. Oakes' acceptance of the presidency in 1679,* the church gave "a Call to Mr. Gookin to be helpful in the ministry, in order to call him to office in time convenient."† After Mr. Oakes' decease, the church invited him to the pastoral office. He accepted the invitation; and was ordained November 15, 1682. He was a Fellow of Harvard College. After a ministry of scarcely ten years, he died on the Lord's day, August 7, 1692, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and tenth of his ministry.

The shortness of Mr. Gookin's ministry, and the imperfection of the early records of the church, leave us very deficient in the means of obtaining his history and character.

* His previous election, in 1675, was *pro tempore*.
† Church Records.

He was a son of Major-General Gookin, whose distinguished character, and eminent services, have been noticed in the preceding history. Tradition informs us, that he lies interred in the south-east corner of the burying ground, beneath a brick monument, covered with a stone slab, the inscription of which is not now legible. He left a son, of his own name, who graduated at Cambridge in 1703, and was, afterward, settled in the ministry at North-Hill, a parish in Hampton, New-Hampshire. This Mr. Gookin is represented by a contemporary minister, as a man, "whose qualifications for the work of the ministry, and whose fidelity, industry and skill in prosecuting it, as well as exemplary caution and prudence, were too well known to need any attestation." * He died in 1734, Ætat. XLVIII, leaving a son of his name, who graduated at Cambridge in 1731, and succeeded his father in the ministry, at Hampton, Oct. 31, 1730. This son is represented as one, "who, upon many accounts, beside his own personal worth, ought to be near and dear" to his society, "being both ways descended from those who have been stars of the first magnitude."† He died in 1766.

## Mr. BRATTLE.

The Reverend William Brattle was born in Boston, about the year 1662; and educated at Harvard College, where he graduated in 1680. He was, afterward, chosen a Tutor, and a Fellow, in that seminary, and officiated in each of these capacities for several years. Dr. Colman, who was a student, while Mr. Brattle was in the tutorship, says, "He was an able, faithful and tender Tutor. He countenanced virtue and proficiency in us, and every good disposition he discerned, with the most fatherly goodness; and searched out and punished vice with the authority of a master. He did his utmost to form us to virtue and the fear of God, and to do well in the world;

* The Rev. Mr. Shurtleff's Sermon, at the ordination of Mr. Nathaniel Gookin, in 1739.

† Mr. Shurtleff informs us, (Ordin. Serm.) that the Rev. Seaborn Cotton was this Mr. Gookin's great grandfather. I suppose the second Mr. Nathaniel Gookin (son of the minister of Cambridge) married a daughter of John Cotton, (his predecessor in the ministry) who was a son of Seaborn, (his predecessor) who was a son of the renowned John Cotton, one of the first ministers of Boston.

and dismissed his pupils, when he took leave of them, with pious charges and with tears." One memorable instance of his humanity, and christian heroism, while in the tutorship, is recorded as worthy, if not of imitation of admiration. When the small-pox prevailed in the college, although he had not had that terrible disorder, instead of a removal, he staid at his chamber, visited the sick scholars, and took care that they should be supplied with whatever was necessary to their safety and comfort. "So dear was his charge to him, that he ventured his life for them ministering both to their souls and bodies; for he was a skilful physician to both." At length, he was taken ill, and retired to his bed; but the disorder was very mild, and he was soon happily restored.

He was ordained Pastor of the church in Cambridge, November 25, 1696. On this occasion he preached his own ordination sermon, from 1 Cor. iii. 6; the Rev. Increase Mather gave the charge; and the Rev. Samuel Willard the right hand of fellowship. On the same occasion, the Rev. Increase Mather preached a sermon, from Rev. i. 16.

Mr. Brattle was polite and affable, courteous and obliging, compassionate and charitable. His estate was very large; and, though he distributed it with a liberal hand, "secret and silent" were his charities. His pacific spirit, and his moderation, were conspicuous; and "he seemed to have equal respect to good men of all denominations." He was patient of injuries, and placable; and said, after trials, he knew not how he could have spared any one of them. With humility he united magnanimity; and was neither bribed by the favour, nor overawed by the displeasure, of any man. "He was of an austere and mortified life"; yet candid and tolerant toward others. He was a man of great learning and abilities; and, at once, a philosopher and a divine. It is no small evidence of his attainments in science, that he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. "He was a generous patron of learning, and long a father of the college" in Cambridge. He placed neither learning, nor religion, in unprofitable speculations, but in such solid and substantial truth, as improves the mind, and is beneficial to the world. Pos-

sessing strong mental powers, he was "much formed for counsel and advice;" and his judgment was often sought, and highly respected.

His manner of preaching may be learnt from Dr. Coleman, who, comparing Mr. Brattle with Mr. Pemberton, observes: "They performed the public exercises in the house of God with a great deal of solemnity, though in a manner somewhat different; for Mr. Brattle was all calm, and soft, and melting; but Mr. Pemberton was all flame, and zeal, and earnestness." Mr. Brattle's ministry appears to have been successful; and the church, while under his pastoral care, became very greatly enlarged. Although he attained a greater age than either of his famous predecessors, Shepard, Mitchel, and Oakes; yet he was often interrupted in his ministerial labours, "by pains and languishments," and died February 15, 1717, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-first of his ministry.

The baptisms of children, during his ministry, were seven hundred and twenty-four; and the admissions to the fellowship of the church three hundred and sixty-four.

"They that had the happiness to know Mr. Brattle, knew a very religious good man, an able divine, a laborious faithful minister, an excellent scholar, a great benefactor, a wise and prudent man, and one of the best of friends. The promoting of Religion, Learning, Virtue, and Peace, every where within his reach, was his very life and soul; the great business about which he was constantly employed, and in which he principally delighted. Like his great Lord and Master he went (or sent) about doing good. His principles were sober, sound, moderate, being of a catholick and pacifick spirit.—For a considereble time before his death, he laboured under a languishing distemper, which he bore with great patience and resignation; and died with peace and an extraordinary serenity of mind. He was pleased in his last Will and Testament to bequeath to Harvard College two hundred and fifty pounds, besides a much greater sum in other pious and charitable legacies." *

The funeral of Mr. Brattle was attended on the 20th

* Boston News-Letter, No. 671.

of February, a day rendered memorable by *The Great Snow.* "He was greatly honoured at his interment;" and the principal magistrates and ministers of Boston and of the vicinity, assembled on this occasion, were necessarily detained at Cambridge by the snow for several days.*

He appears to have published scarcely any of his writings; though many of them were, doubtless, very worthy of publication. His grandson, Thomas Brattle,† Esquire, favoured me with the perusal of some of his Sermons, in manuscript, which are written very fairly and correctly, and are remarkably clear, and concise, sententious and didactic.

Jeremiah Dummer, Esquire, a gentleman of respectability, having, while an agent in England, procured some printed sermons, by desire of Mr. Flint, observes:—"I think the modern sermons, which are preached and printed here, are very lean and dry, having little divinity in the matter, or brightness in the style; I am sure they are no way comparable to the solid discourses which Mr. Brattle gives you every week."‡

The only publication of Mr. Brattle, which has come to my knowledge, is a system of Logic, entitled, "Compendium Logicæ secundum Principia D. Renati Cartesii plerumque efformatum, et catechisticè propositum." It

* A few particulars concerning this memorable Snow may gratify curiosity. The Boston News-Letter of February 25, 1717, has the following paragraphs: "Besides several Snows, we had a great one on Monday, the 18th current; and on Wednesday the 20th it begun to snow about noon, and continued snowing till Friday the 22d, so that the Snow lies in some parts of the streets about Six foot high."—"Saturday last was a clear Sunshine, not a cloud to be seen till towards evening. And the Lord's-day, the 24th, a deep Snow."—"The extremity of the weather has hindered all the three Posts from coming in; neither can they be expected till the roads (now impassable with a mighty Snow upon the ground) are beaten." The News-Letter, of March 4, has this paragraph: "*Boston;* February ended with Snow, and March begins with it, the Snow so deep that there is no travelling."

† This very worthy and respectable man departed this life, since this History was committed to the press, February 7th, 1801, ætat. LIX. His father, Brigadier-General William Brattle, was the only child of the Rev. William Brattle, who lived to mature age.

‡ Coll. of Hist. Soc. for 1799, p. 79.

was long recited at Harvard College, and holden in high estimation. An edition of it was published as late as the year 1758.

Mr. Brattle lies interred in a tomb, on the south-east side of the burying yard, with this inscription:

Depositum
GULIELMI BRATTLE
nuper Ecclesiæ Cantabrigiensis
N. A. Pastoris Rev^di Senatûs Collegii
Harvardini Socij Primarij,
Ejusdemque Curatoris Spectatissimi,
et R. S. S. qui obiit xv^o Febr^ii
Anno Domini MDCCXVII, et Ætatis
Suæ LV. Hic requiescit in spe
Beatæ Resurrectionis.

## Dr. APPLETON.

The Reverend Nathaniel Appleton was born at Ipswich, December 9, 1693. His father was the Honourable *John Appleton**; and his mother was the eldest daughter of President Rogers. He was educated at Harvard College, where he graduated in 1712. On the completion of his education, his uncle, an opulent merchant, offered to set him up in trade; but he declined the offer, that he might pursue his theological studies, preparatory to the work of the ministry.

Soon after the death of Mr. Brattle, the church in Cambridge chose Mr. Appleton to succeed him in the ministry; and he was ordained its pastor, October 9, 1717. On this occasion, Dr. Increase Mather preached a sermon from Ephes. iv. 12, and gave the charge; Dr. Cotton Mather gave the right hand of fellowship; and the Reverend Mr. Angier, of Watertown, and the Reverend Mr. Rogers, of Ipswich, joined with them in the imposition of hands. The same year, in which he was or-

* He was one of the King's Council; and, for more than twenty years, a Judge of Probate for the county of Essex; he was a man of sound judgment, and unimpeached integrity. It was remarked, that, during the long period in which he was in the Probate Office, there was never an appeal from his judgment.

dained, he was elected a Fellow of Harvard College; which office he sustained above sixty years;* and, by his assiduous attention to its duties, together with his prudent counsels, which were greatly respected by the government of the university, he essentially contributed to the interests of that important seminary.† As a testimonial of the estimation of his academical services, as well as of his theological character, and public usefulness, the University of Cambridge, at the commencement in 1771, conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. This degree was conferred by the University but once previously to this; and that was conferred on the Reverend Increase Mather, about eighty years before.‡

Dr. Appleton, if venerable for his age, was more venerable for his piety. His religion, like his whole character, was patriarchal. Born in the last century, and living till nearly the close of this, he brought down with him the habits of "other times." In his dress, in his manners, in his conversation, in his ministry, he may be classed with the Puritan ministers, of revered memory, who first came to New-England. His natural temper was cheerful; but his habitual deportment was grave. Early consecrated to God, and having a fixed predilection for the ministry, he was happily formed, by the union of good sense with deep seriousness, of enlightened zeal with consummate prudence, for the pastoral office.

He preached the gospel with *great plainness of speech*, and with primitive simplicity. Less concerned to please, than to instruct and edify, he studiously accommodated his discourses to the meanest capacity. To this end, he frequently borrowed similitudes from familiar, sometimes from vulgar, objects: but his application of them was so pertinent, and his utterance and his air were so solemn, as to suppress levity, and silence criticism.

* He resigned his Fellowship in 1779.

† President Wadsworth, speaking of Mr. Appleton, says: "I have often thought, it is a great favor not only to the Church and Town of Cambridge, but also to the College, and therein to the whole Province, that he is fixed in that public post and station, assigned by Providence to him." Preface to *The Wisdom of God in the Redemption of Man.*

‡ President Stiles's Literary Diary.

"Dr. Appleton was possessed of the learning of his time. The scriptures he read in the originals. His exposition, preached in course on the sabbath, comprehended the whole New Testament, the prophecy of Isaiah, and, I believe, Daniel, and some of the minor prophets. It was chiefly designed to promote practical piety; but on the prophetical parts, he discovered a continued attention, extent of reading, and depth of research, which come to the share of but very few. He not only gave the Protestant construction, but that of the Romish expositors, in order to point out the defects of the latter."* He carefully availed himself of special occurrences, whether prosperous or adverse, whether affecting individuals, families, his own Society, or the community at large, to obtain a serious attention to the truths and duties of religion; and his discourses, on such occasions, were peculiarly solemn and impressive. Vigilantly attentive to the state of religion in his pastoral charge, he marked prevailing errors, and sins, and pointed his admonitions and cautions against them, both in public and private, with conscientious yet discreet fidelity. The discipline of the church he maintained with parental tenderness, and pastoral authority. The Committee, for inspecting the manners of professing Christians, appointed originally by his desire, and perpetuated for many years by his influence, evinces his care of the honour and interests of the church, of which he was the constituted overseer. So great was the ascendency which he gained over his people, by his discretion and moderation, by his condescension and benevolence, by his fidelity and piety, that, while he lived, they regarded his counsels as oracular; and, since his death, they mention not his name but with profound regard and veneration.

*His praise*, not confined to his own society, *is in all the churches* of New-England. In controversial and difficult cases, he was often applied to for advice, at ecclesiastical Councils. Impartial yet pacific, firm yet conciliatory, he was specially qualified for a counsellor; and in that character he materially contributed to the

* James Winthrop, Esquire.

unity, the peace, and order of the churches. With the wisdom of the serpent he happily united the innocence of the dove. In his religious principles, he was, like all his predecessors in the ministry, a Calvinist. Towards persons, however, who were of different principles, he was candid and catholic. "Orthodoxy and Charity" were his motto,* and he happily exemplified the union of both, in his ministry, and in his life.

His public usefulness, though diminished, for a few of his last years, by the infirmities of age, did not entirely cease but with his life. He died February 9, 1784, in the ninety-first year of his age, and sixty-seventh of his ministry:—and New-England can furnish few, if any, instances of more useful talents, and of more exemplary piety, united with a ministry equally long and successful.

The baptisms of children, during his ministry, were 2048
——— of adults - - - - - 90
Admissions to the fellowship of the church - 784

His publications are:

The Wisdom of God in the Redemption of Man, 12mo. 1728;
Discourses on Romans viii. 14. 12mo. 1743;
8 Funeral Sermons;
6 Ordination Sermons;
2 Thanksgiving Sermons;
2 Fast Sermons;
A Sermon, at the Artillery Election, 1733;
——— at the General Election, 1742;
——— Convention of Ministers, 1743;
——— on the difference between a legal and evangelical righteousness, 1749;
——— at the Boston Lecture, 1763;
——— against prophane Swearing, 1765.

* His portrait, taken by Copley, represents him holding a volume of Dr. Watts, entitled "Orthodoxy and Charity." This portrait, which is said to be an excellent likeness, is now in the possession of Mrs. Appleton, relict of the late Nathaniel Appleton, Esquire, who was a very worthy and respectable son of the minister of Cambridge. It was rescued from the fire in Boston, in 1794, in which Dr. Appleton's MSS. then in the hands of his son, were consumed.

Dr. Appleton's Epitaph:

Sub hoc marmore conduntur,
Cum MARGARET conjugis suæ dilectissimæ reliquiis
Exuviæ viri illius reverendi
NATHANIEL APPLETON, S. T. D.
Christi ecclesiæ
Apud Cantabrigienses primæ
Per Annos LXVII
Pastoris
Docti, fidelis, vigilantis, benevoli.
Majoribus opibusque ornatus,
Sacrum hoc munus
Omnibus aliis præoptavit.
Verbi divini præconis partes sanctè, fervidè, perspicuè
Integritatè eximiâ
Peregit.
Principis Pastoris monitu incitatus
Oves agnosque gregis sedulò pavit;
Et circumspectavit.
Fideles in Christo omnes,
Quantumcunque a se diversè senserint,
Amicè complexus est.
Rebus Academicis ex officio, suisque familiaribus,
Cautè ac prudentèr invigilavit.
Ab omnibus dilectus et observatus,
Vixit,
Et spe resurgendi Christiana suffultus,
In JESU obdormiit
Die Februarii nono, anno Christi MDCCLXXXIV,
Ætatis suæ XCII.

"*They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, And they that turn many to righteousness as the stars forever and ever.*"

## Mr. HILLIARD.

The Reverend Timothy Hilliard was born in Kensington, New-Hampshire, in 1746; and, in 1760, entered Harvard College. "His natural abilities were such, as gave him a facility in acquiring knowledge; and, while he was a student, he made such advances in the various branches of useful learning, as laid the foundation for that eminence in his profession, to which he afterward

attained." *—When he entered the desk, he was judged not only to have "just views of the doctrines and precepts of Christianity," but to have "experienced their power and efficacy on his own heart."—His pulpit performances, from the first, were very acceptable," wherever he was providentially called to preach the gospel.

In 1768, he was appointed chaplain of Castle William; and, after officiating in that capacity a few months, he was elected a tutor in Harvard College. Having continued about two years and a half in the tutorship, "the duties of which he discharged with diligence and fidelity," he was invited to settle in the ministry at Barnstable; where he was ordained, April 10, 1771. "He continued his ministry in that place about twelve years, and was in high esteem among his people, both for his preaching, and for all his parochial conduct; at the same time he was greatly valued in all that part of the country. He loved the work of the ministry, and was faithful in the discharge of all its duties."

Finding his health materially injured by the sea air, he was, at length, constrained to remove from Barnstable.† On the confirmation of his health, by a change of air, he became capable of resuming the public services of the ministry; and, after preaching a short time at Cambridge, was invited to the pastoral charge, as colleague with the aged and venerable Dr. Appleton. He accepted the invitation, and was installed, October 27, 1783. On this occasion, he preached a sermon from Titus, ii. 15; the Reverend Dr. Cooper, of Boston, gave the charge; and the Reverend Mr. Cushing, of Waltham, gave the right hand of fellowship.

Placed, by Providence, in this conspicuous station, his sphere of usefulness became much enlarged, his labours

* President Willard's Sermon, at the funeral of Mr. Hilliard; from which this character is selected. The President was contemporary with Mr. Hilliard as a student, and a tutor, and had "a peculiar intimacy with him, for many years."

† "The air in this town is affected by the neighborhood of the sea on each side, from which it derives a dampness and frequently a chill which is disagreeable, if not unfriendly to tender nerves." The Rev. Mr. Mellen's description of Barnstable, in the Collections of the Historical Society, III. 12.

being now extended to the University.* For this new sphere he was peculiarly qualified. "His pulpit talents were excellent. He was pleasing in his elocution. In prayer he was exceeded by few, being ready in his utterance, pertinent on every occasion, and devotional in his manner. His discourses from the desk were never such as could be said to have cost him nothing, but were well studied, pure in the diction, replete with judicious sentiments, clearly and methodically arranged, instructive, serious, practical, and truly evangelical; so that his public services were useful and edifying to all ranks of men, both learned, and unlearned." He was "ever viewed by the Governors of the University, as an excellent model for the youth under their care, who were designed for the desk; and they considered his introduction into this parish, a most happy event."

Though he was diligent in acquiring useful knowledge, in its various branches; yet he principally devoted himself, as became his profession, to the study of theology. "In the treatment of difficult points in divinity, he was rational and perspicuous; but he was not frequent in handling subjects of doubtful disputation. To inculcate repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and a hearty conformity to the practical precepts of the gospel, he considered of the first importance; and such was the general tenor of his preaching."

To the sick and afflicted he was tenderly attentive. "His mind was formed to sympathy and goodness; benevolence was in his heart; the law of kindness in his tongue; and he was always ready, by day and by night, to serve his flock." He was amiable in his temper, prudent and conciliatory in his deportment.

Though firm in the maintenance of his own religious sentiments, he was "eminently candid, and ready to embrace all good men." In public and in private life, he was exemplary for virtue and piety.

His ministrations were very acceptable to the churches in the vicinity of Cambridge. "His excellent talents and ministerial qualifications became more and more

* Ever since the foundation of Harvard College, its officers and students have attended public worship in the first church in Cambridge.

known; and his reputation was increasing," till his death. He was "frequently employed in ecclesiastical councils, and had much weight and influence in them."—His printed sermons did him "much honour."—"There was no minister among us," said President Willard, "of his standing, who, perhaps, had a fairer prospect of becoming extensively useful to the churches of Christ in this Commonwealth."

"He was peculiarly engaged in promoting the interests of the University in this place, of which he was a watchful Governor. He was constantly seeking its utility and fame, and was an attentive and active member of that branch of its legislature to which he belonged; and his judgment was always of weight.

"Formed by nature with a delicate sensibility, kindness of heart and gentleness of manners, and endowed with a good understanding, a ready mind, respectable acquirements, and a facility and pertinency in conveying his sentiments upon every occasion, his company was pleasing, and his conversation improving. His social intercourse with his brethren in the ministry was always agreeable, and he gained their universal love and esteem."

In his last illness, which was very short, he was supported by the Christian hope, which gave him a religious superiority to the fear of death. Just before he expired, "he expressed his full confidence in God, and said that he enjoyed those consolations, which he had endeavoured to administer to others. He mentioned his flock with affection, and observed, with grateful satisfaction, *That he had not shunned to declare to them the whole counsel of God, having kept nothing back through fear, or any sinister views.*" He died on the Lord's-day morning, May 9, 1790, in the forty-fourth year of his age.

His publications are:

A Sermon at a Public Fast;

———— at the Ordination of the Rev. Bezaleel Howard, at Springfield;

———— at the Ordination of the Rev. John Andrews, at Newburyport;

———— at the Execution of White and others, at Cambridge;

———— at the Dudleian Lecture.

Mr. Hilliard's Epitaph.

In Memory
of
The Reverend Timothy Hilliard, A. M.
Who
For more than twelve years, was a gospel Minister
Of the first church of Christ
In Barnstable,
And for more than six years,
Broke the bread of life to the Christian society
In this place.
Having been, in private life,
Cheerful, affable, courteous, amiable,
In his ministerial character,
Instructive, serious, solemn, faithful,
In full belief of the truths he preached to others,
He fell asleep in Jesus, May ix, MDCCXC,
In the XLIV$^{th}$ year of his age,
In the Christian hope
Of rising again
To ETERNAL LIFE.

This monument was erected by the bereaved affectionate flock.
MDCCXC.

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## A Review of the Military Operations in North-America, from the Commencement of the French hostilities on the frontiers of Virginia in 1753, to the Surrender of Oswego, on the 14th of August, 1756; in a Letter* to a Nobleman.

Interspersed with various observations, characters, and anecdotes; necessary to give light into the conduct of American transactions in general, and more especially into the political management of affairs in New-York.

My Lord,

I ESTEEM myself highly honoured, when you request of me, a full account of the rise, progress, and present state, of the military operations in North-America; with a just delineation of the characters of the principal agents in our political affairs. Indeed, my Lord, you impose

* This valuable Letter is said to have been written by the late Gov. Livingston, and his friends, Messrs. W. Smith and Scott, lawyers, New-York.

a task that will require a volume, rather than a letter. As your Lordship's desire, however, shall always carry with me the force of a command, I will engage in it with the utmost cheerfulness. Forgive me, my Lord, for saying I have a still stronger motive for composing these sheets, than a mere compliance with your Lordship's request; to which I would ever pay the profoundest regard. When I reflect upon your eminent station—your excelling abilities—your warm and active zeal, for the interest and welfare of the British colonies; I am prompted by an unfeigned desire of serving my country; and setting before your Lordship's eyes TRUTH, in her plain undisguised habiliments: I would strip her of all that delusive colouring, with which she hath been artfully varnished, by letter-writers from this part of the world; either to subserve some mean, sinister, party design, or to promote the views of some aspiring and ambitious minds. Candour and integrity shall therefore guide my pen; and amidst the variety with which it is my purpose to present your Lordship, it shall be my sacred endeavour, to the best of my knowledge, to attach myself to the strictest—the most impartial verity.

The American colonies, I speak it with submission, my Lord, were too long neglected by their mother country; though loudly demanding her patronage and assistance. Those, on the continent, require her peculiar notice: They may be made an inexhaustible magazine of wealth; and if suffered to fall into the hands of the French, such will be the accession to their already extended commerce and marine strength, that Great-Britain must not only lose her former lustre, but, dreadful even in thought! cease to be any longer an independent power. Nay, should every other scheme fail, the success of this, will inevitably accomplish the long-projected design of that aspiring nation, for setting up an Universal Monarchy: for, if France rule the ocean, her resources will enable her to subject all Europe to her despotic sway. But it is unnecessary to offer any arguments in support of a proposition, of which the public seems to remain no longer insensible. Happy for us, had these sentiments prevailed earlier, and been more frequently inculcated!

The importance of the colonies, my Lord, was too little considered, till the commencement of the last war. The reduction of Cape Breton by the people of New-England, was an acquisition so unexpected and fortunate, that America became, on that remarkable event, a more general topic of conversation. Mr. Shirley, the governor of the Massachusetts Bay, was the principal projector of that glorious enterprize: An enterprize, which reduced to the obedience of his Britannick Majesty, the DUNKIRK of North-America. Of such consequence to the French, was the possession of that important key to their American settlements, that its restitution was, in reality, the purchase of the last general Peace in Europe.

Of all our plantation governors, my Lord, Mr. Shirley is most distinguished for his singular abilities. He was born in England, and bred up to the law, at one of the Inns of Court. In that profession, he afterwards practised, for several years, in the Massachusetts Bay; and, in 1741, was advanced by his Majesty to the supreme command of that colony. He is a gentleman of great political sagacity, deep penetration, and indefatigable industry. With respect to the wisdom and equity of his administration, he can boast the universal suffrage of a wise, free, jealous, and moral people. Though not bred to arms, he is eminently possessed of these important military virtues. An extent of capacity to form and execute great designs; profound secrecy; love of regularity and discipline; a frugal and laborious manner of living; with the art of conciliating the affections; a talent which Hannibal admired in Pyrrhus, above all the rest of his martial accomplishments. In the first of these great qualities, Mr. Shirley is universally acknowledged to shine: and it is, in reality, more estimable, than all other military endowments without it; consisting, to use the words of that discerning historian Mr. Rollin, "in having great views; in forming plans at "a distance; in proposing a design, from which the author "never departs; in concerting all the measures necessary; "for its success; in knowing how to seize the favourable "moments of occasion, which are rapid in their course, "and never return; to make even sudden and unforeseen "accidents subservient to a plan; in a word, to be upon "the watch against every thing, without being perplex-

"ed and disconcerted by any event." But, whether it arises from his being so far advanced in years, or from his constitutional disposition and make, he has not, in my opinion, that activity and alertness so conducive to warlike expedition; and on which the success of an enterprize frequently depends. This was one of the characteristics of Braddock; a commander, vigorous in executing, as Mr. Shirley, judicious in contriving a plan—sed non omnia possumus omnes—and 'tis easier, my Lord, to find active hands, than able heads. No man perhaps in the nation has bestowed more attention upon the state of the colonies in general; and having their interest sincerely at heart, he has been perpetually concerting expedients, advancive of their prosperity, and to check the views of an all-grasping Monarch. Upon the reduction of Louisburgh, he earnestly recommended to his Majesty's minister, the demolition of that fortress, and an expedition against the French settlements in Canada. The reasons why he succeeded in neither of these proposals, I cannot take upon me to assign. His Majesty, however, sensible of his services, gave him a regiment in 1746; and upon the conclusion of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, sent him as one of the British commissaries to Paris, for settling the controverted limits betweem the two Crowns in America. Amidst all the splendors and delicacies of Versailles, he forgot neither Our interest, nor His duty. As a proof of his integrity and diligence, during that fruitless embassy, one need only peruse these judicious and laborious memorials, in support of his Majesty's right to Nova-Scotia, which were principally framed by him; and lately published by order of the Lords of Trade, as a full exhibit of our title to that part of America. When no satisfaction could, in this way, be obtained from the Court of France; which was artfully endeavouring to spin out the negotiation, and at the same time fortifying the places in question, as well as making new acquisitions; the British commissaries retired from the French Court, and Mr. Shirley resumed his government in New-England in August 1753.

The French, jealous of the growth of the English colonies, were now meditating all possible arts to distress them, and extend the limits of their own frontier. The

marquis Du Quesne, an enterprising genius, was at this time invested with the supreme command of New France. Our provinces were quickly alarmed by the French settlements, which he this year began on the banks of the Ohio. Virginia, appearing more immediately concerned, Mr. Dinwiddie* wrote, on the 31st of October, to the commandant of the French forces there, complaining of sundry late hostilities: and desiring to know, by what authority an armed force had marched from Canada, and invaded a territory indubitably the right of his Britannick Majesty. Major Washington, a gentleman of whom I shall have occasion in the sequel to make honourable mention, was the bearer of this letter. He returned with an answer from Mons. Legardeur De St. Pierre, dated at the fort on Beuf River, 15th December, 1753; of which the following is an exact translation:

"AS I have the honour to command here in chief, "Mr. Washington delivered me the letter, which you di- "rected to the commandant of the French troops. I "should have been pleased if you had given him orders, "or if he himself had been disposed, to visit Canada and "our general; to whom, rather than to me, it properly "appertains to demonstrate the reality of the King my "master's rights to lands situated along the Ohio, and to "dispute the pretensions of the King of Great-Britain "in that respect.

"I shall immediately forward your letter to Mons. Le "Marquis Du Quesne. His answer will be a law to me: "and if he directs me to communicate it to you, I as- "sure you, Sir, I shall neglect nothing that may be "necessary to convey it to you with expedition.

"As to the requisition you make (that I retire with the "troops under my command) I cannot believe myself un- "der any obligation to submit to it. I am here, in virtue "of my general's orders; and I beg, Sir, you would not "doubt a moment of my fixed resolution to conform to "them, with all the exactitude and steadiness that might "be expected from a better officer.

"I do not know that, in the course of this campaign, "any thing has passed that can be esteemed an act of "hostility, or contrary to the treaties subsisting between

* Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia.

"the two crowns; the continuation of which is as inter-
"esting and pleasing to us, as it can be to the English.
"If it had been agreeable to you, Sir, in this respect, to
"have made a particular detail of the facts which occa-
"sion your complaint, I should have had the honour of
"answering you in the most explicit manner; and I am
"persuaded you would have had reason to be satisfied.

"I have taken particular care to receive Mr. Washing-
"ton with all the distinction suitable to your dignity,
"and to his quality and great merit. I flatter myself
"that he will do me this justice, and join with me in tes-
"tifying the profound respect with which I am,

"Sir, your most humble and most obedient Servant,

"LEGARDEUR DE ST PIERRE."

On the receipt of this resolute answer, Mr. Dinwiddie made instant complaint to the Court of Great-Britain; and by alarming speeches laboured to rouse the Virginians into a vigorous opposition. He wrote also to the neighbouring governors, importuning the aid of the other colonies, for repelling the invasion, and erecting a fort at the confluence of the Ohio and Monongahela. An immediate junction in such measures became absolutely requisite for our common security. But the colonies, alas! were sunk into a profound lethargy; and, resigned to stupidity and slumbering, appeared insensible of the threatening danger. They contemned the power of Canada; confided in the number of their inhabitants; inattentive were they to the inconveniences of an endless frontier; and, in short, entirely unacquainted with the situation of the inland country. The waters of the Ohio, before this period, were scarcely known, save to a few Indian traders; and the generality deemed those French settlements too remote to be the object of dread, and a matter of insignificant moment. Accordingly, when application was made for succours to Virginia, conformable to directions from the ministry, some of our provincial assemblies, particularly those of Pennsylvania *

* "You would not admit, that the French encroachments and for-
"tifications on the Ohio were within our limits, or his Majesty's do-
"minions, thereby seeking an excuse to avoid doing what was re-
"quired of you." *Gov. Morris's message to the assembly of Pennsylvania, 22 Nov.* 1755.

and New-York,* seemed even to question his Majesty's title to the lands usurped by the French. Others, to avoid their share in the burden, framed the most trifling excuses. New-York, however, voted £5000 currency in aid of Virginia; which, considering her own situation, and approaching distress, was no ungenerous contribution.

The Virginians nevertheless proceeded in their resolution of marching a body of troops to the protection of their frontiers: and passed an act in February, 1754, for raising £10,000 and 300 men. The command was given to Col. Washington, a young gentleman of great bravery and distinguished merit. By his Majesty's direction, two of the regular independent companies of foot at New-York were ordered to the frontier of that dominion. They embarked for Virginia on board the Centaur man of war; which unfortunately did not sail from thence till the middle of June, and carried the money before mentioned to the assistance of that colony.

Col. Washington began his march, at the head of his little army, about the 1st of May. On the 28th he had a skirmish with the enemy, of whom ten were slain, and about twenty made prisoners. But this publick-spirited officer soon experienced a reverse of fortune. Waiting for further reinforcements, he was alarmed with an account, that 900 French and 200 Indians were advancing from the Ohio; who accordingly in two days after† came up, and an engagement immediately ensued. Our troops were but a handful compared to the number of the enemy, consisting only of about three hundred effective men. After a vigorous resistance for three hours, in which it was said near two hundred of the French and their Indian allies were slain; Col. Washington, observing the great superiority of the enemy, who now began to hem him in on all quarters, found himself un-

* "It appears, by other papers your Honour has been pleased to "communicate to us, that the French have built a fort at a place "called the French Creek, at a considerable distance from the river "Ohio, which may, but does not by any evidence or information ap-"pear to us to be an invasion of any of his Majesty's colonies." *Address of the general assembly to Lieut. Gov. De Lancey*, 23 *April*, 1754.

† The third of July.

der an absolute necessity of submitting to the disagreeable terms that were offered him.*

In this action we had thirty killed and fifty wounded. The French were observed to be assisted by a considerable number of Indians, who had been long in the English alliance: Not a few of them were known to be Delawares, Shawanese, and of the Six Nations.† On the

* *The Terms of Capitulation granted by Mons. de Villier, captain and commander of the Infantry of his Most Christian Majesty, to those English troops actually in Fort Necessity, which is built on the land of the king's dominions.*

As our intentions have never been to trouble the peace and harmony which reigns between the two princes in amity, but only to revenge the assassination which has been done on one of our officers, bearer of a station, as appears by his writing; as also to hinder any establishment on the lands in the dominions of the king my master; upon these considerations, we are willing to grant protection and favour to all the English that are in the said fort, upon the conditions hereafter mentioned.

Article I. We grant the English commander, to retire with all his garrison, and to return peaceably into his own country; and promise to hinder his receiving any insults from us French, and to restrain, as much as shall be in our power, the savages that are with us.

Art. II. That the English be permitted to march out, and carry every thing with them, except the artillery, which we keep.

Art. III. That we will allow the English all the honours of war; and that they shall march out with drums beating, and with a swivel gun;—that we are willing to shew that we treat them as friends.

Art. IV. That as soon as the articles are signed by both parties, they strike the English colours.

Art. V. That to-morrow, at break of day, a detachment of the French shall make the garrison file off, and take possession of the fort: And as the English have a few horses or oxen, they are free to hide their effects, and come and search for them when they have met their horses: And that they may for this end have guardians, in what manner they please, upon condition that they will give their word of honour, not to work upon any building in this place, or in any part this side the mountains, during a year, to be accounted from this day. And as the English have now in their power an officer, two cadets, and most of the prisoners made in the assassination of Sieur Desamonville, that they promise to send them back to the Fort De Du Quesne, situate on the *Fine River:* And for the security of this article, as well as this treaty, Mess. Jacob Van Bracham and Robert Stobo, both captains, shall be put as hostages, till the arrival of the Canadians and French above mentioned. We oblige ourselves, on our side, to give an escort to return in safety these two officers; a duplicate being made upon or of the post of our blockade. July 3, 1754.

† They are called Mingoes by the southern Indians.

surrender of our camp, they fell at once to pillaging the baggage and provisions; and not content with this, they afterwards shot some of the horses and cattle, and scalped two of the wounded.*

Against this conduct, Col. Washington, remonstrated, but all his arguments made but little impression upon them. The Canadians delight in blood; and in barbarity exceed, if possible, the very savages themselves. Thus the French remained masters of the field; the Indians were riveted in their defection; his Majesty's arms unsuccessful; and our frontiers exposed, through the ill-timed parsimony of the provinces. The enemy, on the other hand, wisely improved the present advantage, and erected forts, to secure to themselves the quiet possession of that fertile country. How evident then was the necessity of uniting the power of the British colonies! The expediency of a plan for that purpose had been before considered. Some measures seemed also absolutely requisite for supporting our Indian interest, and preventing their total declension.

Accordingly, agreeable to his Majesty's orders, the 14th of June was appointed for a grand congress of commissaries from the several provinces, to be held at Albany, as well to treat with the Six Nations, as to concert a scheme for a general union of the British colonies. Messengers had been dispatched to the Indian castles† to request their attendance; but they did not arrive till the latter end of the month; and the Mohawks, who live but 40 miles distant, came in last. This occasioned various speculations: some imputed it to fear; lest the French, in their absence, should fall upon their countries: Others to art, imagining that by exciting our jealousy of their wavering disposition, at so critical a juncture, the more liberal would be the presents made them by the several governments. Not a few thought it an artifice of Mr. Johnson's, who expecting to rise into importance, from

* Among other infractions of the capitulation, the destruction of the doctor's box ought not to be forgotten; by which means our wounded were barbarously distressed. See Col. Innes's letter of 12 July, 1754.

† The Indians call their villages, which are only surrounded with pallisades, castles.

the reputation of a mighty influence over the Indians, kept them from a punctual attendance; being very confident of a publick request to himself from the commissioners, to go up, and hasten their progress. There was the highest evidence of the like piece of policy at an Indian treaty, during Mr. Clinton's administration. The Indians however at length arrived, though fewer in number than was expected, or had been usual on those solemn occasions. Hendrick, a noted Mohawk sachem,* apologized for the delay of that canton, in a speech to this effect: "There was (said he) an interview last fall, "between Col. Johnson and the Six Nations, at Onon- "dago. Our brethren of the other nations reported, that "his speech to us was concerted by the Mohawks: We "therefore come last, to prevent any ground for the "repetition of such slanders, with regard to the address "now to be made us by your Honour."

The Congress having been opened on the 18th of June, were ready to treat with the Six Nations; and on the 29th, after settling disputes between the commissioners concerning rank and precedence, Mr. De Lancey, the Lieut. Governor of New-York, addressed himself in a speech to the Indians.—On his right hand, were Messrs. Murray and Johnson, two of the council of New-York; next to them, Messrs. Wells, Hutchinson, Chandler, Partridge, and Worthington, commissioners from the Massachusetts Bay; then the gentlemen from New-Hampshire, Messrs. Wibird, Atkinson, Weare, and Sherburne; and last on that side, Messrs. Hopkins and Howard, commissioners of Rhode-Island. On his left were seated, Messrs. Chambers and Smith, two other of his Majesty's council for New-York; then the Connecticut commissioners, Lieutenant-Governor Pitkin, Major Woolcot, and Col. Williams; after them, Messrs. Penn, Peters, Norris, and Franklin, from Pennsylvania; and last of all, Col. Tasker and Maj. Barnes, from Maryland.

The treaty was conducted with great solemnity. The Indians appeared well pleased with the presents from the several governments; which, compared to former donations, amounted to an immense value: But in their an-

* A sachem is a warrior, and a man of an established reputation for his wisdom and bravery, among the Indians.

swer recriminated upon us the desertion of our fort * at Saratoga the last war; lamented the defenceless condition of our frontier city of Albany; and extolled the better conduct of the French, in fortifying and maintaining their garrisons.

The Indians being dismissed, the conferences were continued till the 11th of July. The commissioners were, both for abilities and fortune, some of the most considerable men in North-America. The speakers, however, were not many; but of those who spoke, some delivered themselves with singular energy and eloquence. All were inflamed with a patriot spirit, and the debates were nervous and pathetic. This assembly, my Lord, might very properly be compared to one of the ancient Greek conventions, for supporting their expiring liberty against the power of the Persian empire, or that Lewis of Greece, Philip of Macedon. In the conclusion, a plan was concerted for a general union of the British colonies, and creating a common fund to defray all military expenses; and a representation of their present state drawn up; which were agreed to be laid before the King's ministers. Some of the governments have nevertheless declared themselves averse to this scheme; though approved at the time by every member of the congress, except Mr. De Lancey. Unaccountable was the conduct of this gentleman to several of the provincial deputies. But those who were best acquainted with his character and love of sway, ascribed his aversion from the plan, to an apprehension, that should the same take place, the supreme officer, who agreeably to it was to preside in the grand council of deputies from the respective colonies, would most probably be the governor of the Massachusetts Bay: An apprehension, which repressed his own aspiring views; and it was imagined, stung him with unspeakable chagrin.

As the Lieutenant-Governor will appear, in the course of this letter, to bear a principal part in our public transactions, it will be necessary, before I proceed any farther, to present your Lordship with his picture at full length.

* Upon the disbanding of the forces raised for the Canada expedition in 1746, and the assembly's disinclination to garrison it, the fort, by order of Mr. Clinton, was burnt and abandoned.

Without an intimate knowledge of that gentleman's history and genius, it will be impossible to comprehend his conduct, or trace his actions, to their genuine source.

He is the eldest branch of one of the first families in the province. His father, a French refugee, a gentleman of distinguished rank in this city, and who here acquired a large fortune, sent him for his education to the University of Cambridge. He was a youth of prompt parts, and made a considerable progress in learning, especially in the classics. In the year 1729, he was, by Governor Montgomery's recommendation, created one of his Majesty's council of New-York; but never engaged the public attention, till the time of Mr. Cosby. He became then very famous. With this governor he took part in most or all of his measures; measures extremely arbitrary, and productive of an administration odious and turbulent. Cosby, in return for his ministerial services, loaded him with favours. Deposing Chief Justice Morris (the main obstacle to his perilous projects) he raised him to the first seat on the bench.* But though his excellency had the disposition of offices, he could by no means delegate the affections of the people. Accordingly our politician was equally honoured and despised. He enjoyed the smiles of the governor, which loaded him with the curses of the people; was caressed by the former, and by the latter abhorred. Cosby leaving a successor capable of governing without a prompter, the chief justice found it necessary to deface the memory of his former conduct, by cultivating the arts of popularity. Mr. Clarke, who succeeded,† being perfectly master of our constitution, a gentleman of experience and penetration, and intimately acquainted with the temper of the people, in a short time reconciled all parties; and by restoring the public tranquillity, rendered Mr. De Lancey's plodding abilities utterly useless. Hence he was at full leisure to court the populace. Suddenly he became transformed into a patriot; and, strange to relate! without a single act of patriotism. His un-

* Mr. De Lancey was not educated to the law; but having spent some time, after his return from England, in the study of that science, Gov. Montgomery appointed him second judge of the supreme Court of Judicature.

† In March, 1736.

common vivacity, with the semblance of affability and ease; his adroitness at a jest, with a shew of condescension to his inferiors, wonderfully facilitated his progress. These plausible arts, together with his influence as chief justice, and a vast personal estate at use, all conspired to secure his popular triumph. To establish such an undue power, and amazing influence, would, in a Grecian commonwealth, have exposed a man of less ambition and better principles to the ostracism. Mr. Clarke being superseded by Governor Clinton,* Mr. De Lancey was presented with a fresh opportunity for the exhibition of his political genius. Mr. Clinton, a gentleman of but indifferent parts, wholly resigned himself into his hands. Contenting himself with the title and salary of governor, he left the sole direction of affairs to his minister, who, by virtue of his late acquired omnipotence with the assembly, carried all his points, and even endeared him to the people. This intimacy subsisted no longer than it was found conducive to his designs. Having obtained from Mr. Clinton a new commission for his office of chief justice *during good behaviour;* and flattering himself with the hopes of another, appointing him lieutenant-governor, through the interest of his friends in England, he cared not how soon his excellency abdicated the province, nor how tempestuous he rendered his administration; and was therefore prepared for an open rupture. He no sooner thought himself capable of acting independently of the governor, than, like Sixtus Quintus, who threw aside his crutches the moment of his exaltation to the popedom, he put off all that humble devotion, by which he had so fatally deceived his too credulous master, and openly set himself at defiance against him. Now he began to dictate, rather than advise: and, instead of Sejanus, chose to be Tiberius himself. Dining one day with Mr. Clinton, and insisting upon some favorite point with great imperiousness, the governor, who had hitherto very cordially suffered himself to be led, refused on this occasion to be driven. The Chief Justice then arose and left him; declaring, with an oath, he would make his administration uneasy for the future: His Excellency replied, he might do his worst. Thus they parted; nor were ever afterwards reconciled.

* Mr. Clinton arrived as governor, 22 Sept. 1743.

This breach gave rise to the contentions, which so unhappily embroiled our provincial affairs, during the remainder of his administration. The assembly were instantly inflamed. He who before had been able to make them connive at very unjustifiable steps, could at once stir up an opposition to the most unexceptionable measures. Remonstrances, warm and virulent, were now drawn up; unworthy their own dignity to offer, and replete with the grossest language to his Majesty's representative. Thus was formed against Mr. Clinton a powerful party, which ceased not, while he continued at the helm, to harass and perplex him. To such an exorbitant length did they carry their opposition, as to throw off the restraint of humanity: They had even recourse to force and violence. Nay, a partisan of the Chief Justice, in defiance of the sacred rights of the magistracy and the law, to shew his resentment against Mr. Clinton and his adherents, assaulted the mayor; whipped the sheriff; dammed the Governor; and stabbed his physician. My Lord, we became the sport and contempt of our neighbours; and it is beyond contradiction, that Mr. De Lancey, by blowing up the coals of contention, did the province more injury, than he will be ever able to repair. Nor is there any reason to doubt, that the enormous power of this gentleman, and the ferment raised against Mr. Clinton, occasioned the 39th article of the King's instructions to Sir Danvers Osborn; which appears purposely calculated to render our future Governors independent on his influence over the assembly: For a law indefinite, making provision for the salary allowed by the King to his Governors; and competent salaries to all judges, justices, and other necessary officers and ministers of government; such a law, I say, would effectually render a Governor independent of the assembly, and consequently of any undue influence in it. Nor without such independence, or an abridgment of Mr. De Lancey's power, by reducing him to his primitive private station, do I see any probability of the extinction of that party-spirit, which hath so long disturbed the tranquillity, and injured the public weal of the colony. Mr. Clinton, being superseded by Sir Danvers Osborn,* a gentleman of a most amiable moral character, retired into the country; from

* Sir Danvers Osborn arrived at New-York the 7th of October, 1753.

whence he proposed to embark for Great-Britain. The Chief Justice, notwithstanding his long declared enmity, and unwearied industry to embarrass his administration, had now—the humility, shall I call it?—to dispatch a messenger to him, with design, if possible, to procure an accommodation, in order to secure his favour in England, when he could no longer distress him in America. It were difficult to determine, whether this required a higher degree of assurance or servility. But it is no uncommon thing, to behold the same person fastidious and fawning, supercilious and sycophantic. Mr. Clinton, far from an implacable enemy, began to be softened; when his lady (who, if born among the Scythians, had been the Thalestris of antiquity) unravelling the secret, frustrated at once all expectations of a composition; and gave the plenipotentiary such a volley of invective against his constituent, as rendered all future overtures entirely hopeless.

On the death of Sir Danvers Osborn,* equally unexpected and deplored, Mr. De Lancey published the commission he had just received appointing him Lieutenant-Governor. He was now to act a part entirely new, and demanding the full exertion of his political dexterity. In the first place, he had to convince the ministry of his utmost efforts to carry the King's instructions in the house of representatives: And in the next, in order to preserve his popularity with the assembly, and not in the most flagrant manner counteract his avowed principles, he was to satisfy them, that in reality he by no means expected their compliance with them. To execute the former part of this plan, in his speech of the 31st of October, 1753, to the council and general assembly, he says: "You will perceive by the 39th article of his Majesty's "instructions to Sir Danvers Osborn, (copies of which "I shall herewith deliver you †) how highly his Majesty "is displeased at the neglect of, and contempt shewn to

* This happened on the 12th of October. 1753.

† The 39th instruction was published in one of our newspapers, and reprinted in England. The publication of it was thought to have been intended to excite the popular clamour: and it occasioned the resentment of the ministry. It is worth remarking, that copies of several other instructions were expressly ordered by his Majesty to be laid before the assembly; but no such directions were given with respect to this.

"his royal commission and instructions, by your passing "laws of so extraordinary a nature, and by such your "unwarrantable proceedings, particularly set forth in this "instruction: Hence also his Majesty's royal pleasure "as to these matters will appear, and what he expects "from you. On this head, I must observe to you, that "by our excellent constitution the executive power is "lodged in the crown: That all government is founded "on a confidence, that every person will discharge the "duty of his station; and if there should be any abuse "of power, that the legal and regular course is to make "application to his Majesty, who, having a paternal "tenderness for all his subjects, is always ready to hear "and redress their grievances." And then addressing himself to the assembly in particular: "I must earnestly "press it upon you, that in preparing your bill for the "support of government and other public services, you "pay a due regard to his Majesty's pleasure signified in "his instructions; and frame them in such a manner, as, "when laid before me for my assent, I may give it con-"sistent with my duty to his Majesty." What think you, my Lord? could your favourite Garrick have personated Richard the Third in a livelier manner than this gentleman the *real* advocate for the royal instruction? Could the man, who but a day or two before had intrigued with the members how to elude that very instruction, preserve his gravity, while acting such a tragi-comical farce? for that, my Lord, was the method in which he performed the second part of his plan. As his Majesty's representative, he was obliged to urge their compliance with seeming sincerity and warmth; but as James De Lancey, Esq. their old friend and best adviser, it was his real sentiment, that never ought they to submit.

Matters being thus previously adjusted, the assembly, in their address, studiously avoid a categorical answer with respect to the indefinite support: But to gratify his Honour, and blacken the memory of Mr. Clinton, that he might not prejudice him in England, they make use of this memorable evasion: "On reading the 39th arti-"cle of his Majesty's instructions to Sir Danvers Osborn, "your Honour's immediate predecessor, we are extreme-"ly surprised to find, that the public transactions of this "colony have been so maliciously misrepresented to our

"most gracious Sovereign. We can, Sir, with truth and "justice affirm, that his Majesty has not in his dominions "a people more firmly, and that from principles of real "affection, devoted to his person, family, and govern- "ment, than the inhabitants of this colony. And we are "greatly at a loss to discover in what instances the peace "and tranquillity of the colony have been disturbed, or "wherein order and government have been subverted. "If the course of justice has been obstructed, or in any "case perverted, it has been by the direction, or through "the means, of Mr. Clinton, late Governor of this prov- "ince, who sent peremptory orders to the judges, clerk, "and sheriff of Duchess County, to stay process, and stop "the proceedings in several cases of private property, "depending in that court; and who did, in other counties, "commissionate judges and justices of known ill charac- "ters, and extreme ignorance: One stood even present- "ed for perjury in the supreme court of this province, "whom he *rewarded* with the office of assistant judge; "and others were so shamefully ignorant and illiterate, "as to be unable to write their own names. From "whence we greatly fear, that justice has in many cases "been partially, or very unduly administered."

I shall not trouble your Lordship with a vindication of Mr. Clinton; but only observe, that the suits commenced in Duchess County were by deserters against their captains;* that the Governor, who was no lawyer, assured the house, his letters to the justices were written unadvisedly, and with precipitation; and that if any man was injured, he would readily compensate his damages. And as to the charge of appointing ignorant justices, it lies with equal truth against all our governors, (Mr. De Lancey himself not excepted) who to influence elections, have gone into an unjustifiable practice of intrusting blank commissions with certain favourites in the respective counties, impowered to place and displace civil and military officers at their pleasure. These election jobbers are generally the court members in assembly: And decency, my Lord, should have induced them to stifle the ridiculous assertion, that Mr. Clinton *rewarded* a man for being perjured; as well as the more pertinent invective against

* Captains of the levies raised for the Canada expedition in 1746.

the dangerous usage just mentioned, for corrupting the house of representatives. But to disgrace Mr. Clinton was expedient to the Lieutenant-Governor; and hence this attack upon the former.

Upon his Honour's advancement to the government, the press laboured with addresses; and the incense offered upon the occasion might have perfumed the whole temple of Delphos. It was not enough, that, agreeable to ancient usage, he was presented with the compliments of public bodies alone. It was necessary, from the number of addresses, to display his extensive influence, and the universal joy; thereby, if possible, to lay the foundation of his continuance in the administration. Accordingly, the very militia officers and supervisors of Queen's County (a motley assemblage!) were made to groan out their aspirations for this auspicious event: "*Oh! that "his gracious Majesty would be pleased to confirm and fix "you, for a long time, in this exalted station.*" Never have I seen an insignificant interjection more insignificantly employed. To so extravagant a pitch, my Lord, did this exuberant ardor arrive, that we at length found him cloathed with an incommunicable attribute of the Deity himself, even his immutable moral rectitude. "*These things "in you (say they) are not so properly called virtues, as* "NATURAL ENDOWMENTS. *You will not, you* CANNOT *act "otherwise than you do.*" With *such fustian* can some men be regaled: and by *such fustian* is oftentimes a whole nation deluded.

To proceed in the character of this remarkable American: He is a person of quick apprehension, and extensive acquaintance with the law; which he acquired with incredible application, to obliterate the indifferent figure he made, when first elevated to the chief seat on the bench, to serve the purposes of Governor Colby. Without the talents, he has all the ambition of a Ripperda. His thirst after popularity, which in him is a mere engine of state, hath almost banished all public spirit; and the triumphs of power occasioned the exile of common sense. Apprehensive of the diminution of his own lustre, his jealousy will not admit a competitor; but sets him at mortal odds with a rising, independent spirit, lest it be rewarded with popular favour, and thence result into popular interest, in derogation of his own sovereign in-

fluence. Hence, whoever would accomplish a patriot measure, must either obtain his leave; and then he arrogates to himself the merit due to its author; or carry it by mere stratagem, without which he may be sure of a disappointment. In the latter case, he has generally address enough to be revenged on the projector, by rendering both him and his project universally odious. Some among us see these arts; many suspect them; few dare mention them; and fewer still oppose them. Thus a people, who would by no means be forcibly deprived of their liberties, post into voluntary bondage: and they who would scorn a vassalage to the greatest monarch, become dupes to a dictator of their own creation.

Of all provincial affairs he is the uncontrolled director. As chief justice, great is his interest in the counties; with that interest he commands elections; with his sway in elections he rules the assembly; and with his sovereignty over the house controls a governor. His influence with the members of the assembly being the main source of his exorbitant power, never will he serve the Crown at the risk of a dissension with the house. He will only stand by a governor while at his devotion, and standing fair with the people; but, in case of a rupture, instantly sacrifice prerogative on the altar of popularity. His own interest is his idol, and every thing else made subservient to procure it veneration and esteem. The men, who are his greatest tools, are generally by himself the most despised, and sometimes treated with despite and insult. If they discover the least freedom of resentment (which few of them dare discover) he can with a smile, or a joke, or a promise, or a bottle, at once dissipate the struggling resolution, and reduce them to their primitive obsequiousness. By hints, by threats and blandishments, by emissaries, by dark insinuations and private cabals, he is able to render any measure hateful or popular; to put down, or raise up, whom, when, and what he pleases. Nay, my Lord, I will venture to affirm, and every man in the province must bear me testimony, that while his influence continues to be supported with his office of chief justice, no operation, in which this colony is concerned, can promise success, should this monopolizer of power be determined to obstruct it.

Should it now be inquired, Must not a man, so ex-

tremely popular, be necessarily possessed of eminent virtue, and warmly devoted to the weal of the people, who thus cordially resound his fame, submit to his control, and agree to adorn his triumph? The question can only come from a novice in history, and a stranger to mankind. In the judgment of your Lordship, who is deeply read in both, I am confident that popularity is no indication of merit. With the deluded multitude the best men are often unpopular; the most pernicious, extolled and adored. The people are ever ready to be bewitched, cheated, and enslaved, by a powerful, crafty seducer: and, what is worse, ever ready to sacrifice whoever would disabuse and release them. The same people who could, without emotion, behold a Sidney bleeding in defenee of public liberty, could commit a riot in rescuing a Sacheverel for preaching sedition and subverting the nation. Your Lordship remembers, that Massanello, in the short space of ten days, was a poor fisherman, a popular incendiary, a sovereign viceroy, stripped of his honours, treated like a malefactor, knocked on the head, and thrown into a ditch. Who, in fine, was more popular than the pestilent Claudius, except, perhaps, the more pestilent Catiline? It was, therefore, well observed by the protector Cromwell, that the very men, who followed him with acclamations and torrents of flattery, would, with the same demonstrations of joy, accompany him to the gallows.

Thus, my Lord, I have presented you with a faithful portrait of the Lieutenant-Governor of New-York, who is to bear no small share in the public affairs, of which I have the honour to transmit your Lordship an account; a portrait, under which there had been no need of fixing a name to direct to the original those, who have the least knowledge of that gentleman's character.

While these things were transacting at Albany, Mr. Pownal, brother to John Pownal, Esq. one of the secretaries to the Board of Trade, was upon the spot. This gentleman came over to America with Sir Danvers Osborn, in quality of his private secretary; though it was imagined by many, he was designed to be an assistant to him in the exercise of the government. He is something of a scholar, but a confused reasoner; and in his style perplexed; and in that usefullest of all sciences,

the knowledge of mankind, he is a mere novitiate: without the latter, your Lordship knows that other acquirements are comparatively of small account, in the management of public business. To be only learned, is frequently to be vain, ostentatious, and obstinate; such a one, in a word, as Tertullian describes the most learned among the heathens, "an animal of glory." This gentleman is fond of being considered *in an important light.* Insatiable of praise, he can not only hear himself flattered; but, what is more unaccountable in a man of tolerable sense, can flatter himself. He is a person of uncommon application, and a good memory. By dint of industry, and an access to the papers in the Plantation Board Office, he has acquired some knowledge of American affairs; but so keen is his appetite for promotion, that he cannot brook the thoughts of a gradual advancement. He is for galloping into preferment; and so intent on the contemplation of his future grandeur, as to lose all patience in earning it. Being more skilled in books than men, he is very abrupt in giving a scholastic turn to conversation, in order to display his erudition. Ever ready to contradict: himself impatient of contradiction. But wonderful is his knack at pluming himself with the schemes and inventions of others; and, with the daw in the fable, shining in a borrowed dress: a remarkable instance of which I shall give your Lordship in the following anecdote; as characteristic of a person, who will appear to have had some considerable influence in the course of American transactions. During the sitting of the congress, it was scarce possible to prevent part of their sentiments from transpiring. The scheme of a naval armament on Lake Ontario, projected by Lieut. Governor Clarke, before the late war, submitted to the then ministry, and now strongly recommended by the commissioners of the Massachusetts-Bay, by some means or other happened to be hinted without doors. Mr. Pownal, intent upon rising into significance among the colonies, chose not to slip so favourable an opportunity of distinguishing himself, as he could now lay hold of, from these whispered intelligences. He accordingly drew up some loose, indigested proposals, with respect to American affairs. Among other trite sentiments, he urged this scheme as a new, unthought-of measure, ab-

solutely requsite to secure the command, and preserve the fur trade of those inland seas. This he delivered to some of the members of the congress to be communicated: and afterwards transmitted a copy to England; challenging to himself the sole merit of being the original author of so useful and necessary an expedient.*

While the congress was held at Albany, Governor Shirley, ever jealous of French machinations, proceeded, at the head of about one thousand men, to the river Kennebec; and erected forts, at convenient distances, to stop the progress of the French on that quarter; to secure the possession of that country with the friendship of the eastern Indians.

The remainder of this year† was principally spent in repeated representations to the ministry, respecting the dangerous situation of the English colonies; and the absolute necessity of a powerful assistance from Great-Britain, to defeat the ambitious designs of the Court of France.

On the welcome intelligence of the success of these representations, and while forces were expecting from England, the two regiments of Shirley and Pepperel were ordered to be re-established, and recruits were raising through the several governments, to form an army for dispossessing the French from their late encroachments.

The general assembly of the Massachusetts-Bay being convened, and the members sworn to secrecy, Mr. Shirley communicated to them a design of attacking Fort St. Frederick, at Crown Point, the ensuing spring; and his intention to appoint Col. Johnson to the command of that expedition. The scheme being approved by the council and representatives of that province, and the quotas settled, commissioners were charged to the neighbouring governments, to solicit their concurrence and aid, in the prosecution of this enterprise.

While these matters were in agitation, Mr. Pownal was at Boston, intending to sail from thence to England.

* Mr. Pownal had this piece published in New-York in Feb. 1776. It contained an introduction, declaring, that copies of it were sent by the ministry to the respective governors of the colonies: and in the spring following, it was republished, with great ostentation, in the English magazines. With respect to those parts of it, wherein he talks of Indian affairs, the sentiments seem to be unintelligible by a North American understanding.

† 1754.

He now thought fit to change his resolution; and Governor Shirley honoured him with the embassy to New-York, for which place he set out the beginning of March. Some gentlemen of the council and assembly were commissioned, on the like errand, to the other colonies of New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, &c.

Mr. Pownal's prospects of success at New-York were at first not very encouraging. De Lancey, jealous of Shirley's rising reputation, appeared, with regard to the expedition recommended, extremely phlegmatic: and though artful enough to abstain from an open opposition he made use of Mr. Chambers as his tool in council, to obstruct the concurrence of the legislature. At this time great animosities were prevailing in the province, occasioned by a charter just before granted by Mr. De Lancey, constituting a college for the education of youth, upon a foundation which happened to enkindle the general disgust. The majority of the house, apprehending the loss of their seats on a future election, should they afford it the least assistance, found themselves obliged rather to countenance the popular resentment. A gentleman of distinction, with whom Mr. Pownal advised on the subject of his commission, thought it a prudent step to open his message in part, to those members of the assembly, who, on the above-mentioned account, were then in the opposition. Several of the leading men were secured by this method: and when the house met, such a disposition appeared to join in the scheme proposed, that it was beyond Mr. De Lancey's power to obstruct it. Out of pique however to Mr. Shirley, to whom this expedition was solely committed, he prevailed upon them to suspend the execution of their vote, until General Braddock's approbation was obtained: and by this artifice occasioned a considerable delay in the operations.

General Braddock, being now arrived in Virginia, sent expresses to the several governors to meet him, in order to a consultation on the business of the approaching campaign. This convention was opened on the 14th of April,*

* It was at first proposed to have been held at Annapolis, in Maryland. Mr. Shirley, who through the multiplicity of his affairs did not arrive there till April, has been charged with delaying Braddock's

at Alexandria in Virginia. Here it appeared, that through misrepresentations from Virginia, the general was enjoined to proceed immediately to Fort Du Quesne. Those, who were well acquainted with the country, could not help observing, that a march from Potowmac, across the Allegheny mountains, must be attended with incredible difficulty, hazard, and expense; that the vicinity of New-York to Canada, its fort of Oswego on Lake Ontario, together with the advantages of water carriage, rendered that province by far the fittest theatre of action. Braddock's orders were nevertheless positive. For the preservation therefore of Oswego, and the reduction of Niagara it was at length agreed, that Shirley's and Pepperel's regiments should proceed to Lake Ontario, while General Braddock attacked Fort Du Quesne; and the provincial troops, commanded by General Johnson, marched to invest Crown-Point.

These resolutions being taken, Mr. Shirley began his journey to Boston, to prepare for the expedition under his immediate command; to forward that under Col. Johnson; and to quicken the departure of the New-England troops, now assembled by his Majesty's directions, for reducing the French settlements in Nova-Scotia. On his way, he spent some time in conference with Col. Schuyler, a gentleman of fortune and courage, who, out of disinterested love to his country, was engaged to head a regiment of 500 men, raised and maintained by the province of New-Jersey. In New-York he was retarded a few days to consult with General Johnson, and remove some objections made by Mr. De Lancey to the form of his commission: * and in Con-

march near three weeks; though it is notorious, *that* delay was occasioned by the failure of the Virginia contract for the necessary supplies. The general was afterwards obliged to enter into a new one with gentlemen in Pennsylvania; which was not completed till the 27th of May, near six weeks from the conclusion of the congress.

* Mr. Johnson had his commission from the governors of the provinces, which furnished the troops under his command; the draft of which was settled at Alexandria. The Lieut. Governor of New-York now thought proper to repeat those very objections which had been there overruled. This unaccountable conduct gave Mr. Johnson great uneasiness, who could not obtain Mr. De Lancey's commission, till proper notice was taken by General Shirley of so manifest an obstruction to the operations of the campaign.

necticut, to hasten the assembling the troops of that colony.*

The necessary dispatches being given to the expedition to Nova-Scotia under Col. Winslow, Mr. Shirley, upon the arrival of the paymaster for the northern district, returned to New-York; and on the 4th of July sailed for Albany, his own regiment having passed by for that place, in twenty-one transports, a few days before.

About this time, the colonies were filled with universal joy, on the agreeable news that the New-England troops were become masters of Beau-sejour and Bay Verte, on the isthmus of Nova-Scotia; whereby a new province was added to the British empire in America: and that a strong fleet, under Admiral Boscawen, lay before Louisburgh, to intercept the French supplies; and which had also seized two of their capital ships, the Lys and Alcide, and sent them into Halifax.

Gen. Braddock was now on his march towards the Ohio, at the head of about 2200 men, in order to invest Fort Du Quesne, and drive the French from their encroachments on the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania. From Fort Cumberland to Fort Du Quesne, the distance is not less than 130 miles. Mr. Braddock began

* Connecticut had voted 1000 men for the Crown-Point expedition, and given assurances of 500 more, if the service so required. New-York was to supply 800; but through the delay occasioned by the suspending clause above mentioned in the vote of our assembly, Mr. De Lancey's brother was sent into Connecticut, to obtain leave for recruiting the quota we were to furnish, in that colony; as men might there be raised more speedily than in the province of New-York. Mr. Shirley being at Hartford, during this application, was told by Governor Fitch, that if Connecticut complied, they should consider themselves disengaged from the assurances given of 500 more than their own quota, did the service demand it. This, with Mr. Oliver De Lancey's declaration, that if himself should accept the command of the New-York regiment, he could in ten days raise the whole number in this province, induced Mr. Shirley to oppose the application; it appearing to him not improbable, that the service might afterwards require the reinforcement offered. In consequence of which, only 300 troops were furnished New-York from thence; a lucky incident for Mr. Shirley's adversaries to incense the people of New-York against him; to which purpose it was industriously applied; though his conduct in that affair was prudent and rational; and though, by repeated letters to Lieut. Gov. De Lancey, he took pains to remove any misunderstanding at a juncture so unseasonable.

his march from the former on the 10th of June, leaving the garrison under the command of Col. Innes. Innumerable were the difficulties he had to surmount, in a country rugged, pathless, and unknown, across the Allegheny mountains, through unfrequented woods, and dangerous defiles. From the little meadows the army proceeded in two divisions. At the head of the first, consisting of 1400 men, was the general himself, with the greatest part of the ammunition and artillery. The second, with the provisions, stores and heavy baggage, was led by Col. Dunbar. Never was man more confident of success, than this brave, though unfortunate officer. Being advised at the great meadows, that the enemy expected a reinforcement of 500 regular troops, he pushed on, by forced marches, with so much dispatch, that he fatigued the soldiers, weakened his horses, and left his second division near forty miles in the rear. The enemy being not more than 200 strong at their fort on the Ohio, gave no obstruction to the march of our forces, till the memorable 9th of July; a day never to be forgotten in the annals of North-America. About noon our troops passed the Monongahela, and were then within seven miles of Fort Du Quesne. Unapprehensive of the approach of an enemy, at once was the alarm given, by a quick and heavy fire upon the vanguard, under Lieut. Col. Gage. Immediately the main body, in good order and high spirits, advanced to sustain them. Orders were then given to halt, and form into battalia. At this juncture, the van falling back upon them, in great confusion, a general panic seized the whole body of the soldiery; and all attempts to rally them proved utterly ineffectual. The general and all the officers exerted their utmost activity, to recover them from the universal surprise and disorder; but equally deaf were they to intreaties and commands. During this scene of confusion, they expended their ammunition in the wildest and most unmeaning fire; some discharging their pieces on our own parties, who were advanced from the main body for the recovery of the cannon. After three hours spent in this melancholy situation, enduring a terrible slaughter, from (it may be said) an *invisible* foe, orders were given to sound a retreat, that the men might be brought to cover the waggons.

These they surrounded but a short space of time; for the enemy's fire being again warmly renewed from the front and left flank, the whole army took to immediate flight; leaving behind them all the artillery, provisions, ammunition, baggage, military chest, together with the general's cabinet, containing his instructions and other papers of consequence. So great was the consternation of the soldiers, that it was impossible to stop their career, flying with the utmost precipitation three miles from the field of action; where only one hundred began to make a more orderly retreat.

What was the strength of the enemy, has hitherto remained to us uncertain. According to Indian accounts, they exceeded not 400, chiefly Indians: and whether any were slain, is still to be doubted, for few were seen by our men, being covered by stumps and fallen trees. Great indeed was the destruction on our side. Numbers of officers sacrificed their lives through singular bravery. Extremely unfortunate was the whole staff. The general, after having five horses shot under him, received a wound in his lungs through his right arm, of which he died in four days. His Secretary, eldest son of Major-General Shirley, a gentleman of great accomplishments, by a shot through the head, was killed upon the spot. Mr. Orme and Capt. Morris, aids-de-camp, were wounded. Of the 44th regiment, Sir Peter Halket, Colonel, was slain, with several other officers; and Lieut. Col. Gage wounded. Lieut. Col. Burton, of the 48th regiment, was among the wounded; and many gallant officers perished in the field. Our whole loss was about seven hundred killed and wounded.

To what causes this unhappy catastrophe is to be ascribed, has been matter of much inquiry and animated debate. The officers charged the defeat to the cowardice of the men: but, in a representation they made to Mr. Shirley, by order of the Crown, they in some measure apologize for their behaviour, alleging, that they were harassed by duties unequal to their numbers, and dispirited through want of provisions: That time was not allowed them to dress their food: That their water (the only liquor too they had) was both scarce and of a

bad quality: In fine, that the provincials had disheartened them, by repeated suggestions of their fears of a defeat, should they be attacked by Indians; in which case the European method of fighting would be entirely unavailing. But, my Lord, however censurable the conduct of the soldiery may be thought, Mr. Braddock, too sanguine in his prospects, was generally blamed for neglecting to cultivate the friendship of the Indians, who offered their assistance; and who, it is certain, had a number of them preceded the army, would have seasonably discovered the enemy's ambuscade. The Virginian rangers also, instead of being made to serve as regulars in the ranks with the English troops, should have been employed as out-scouts. But this step, so necessary to guard against surprise, was too unhappily omitted; the whole army, according to the representation above mentioned, following only *three or four guides.*

When the routed party joined the second division, forty miles short of the place of action, the terror diffused itself through the whole army. Your Lordship might naturally expect to hear, that Col. Dunbar, then entrenched himself, and called on the neighbouring colonies for immediate reinforcements; as by such a step the enemy might have been detained at Fort Du Quesne, prevented from ravaging the frontiers, or throwing succours into Niagara. But alas! my Lord, an infatuation seemed to accompany all our measures on the southern quarter. Fearful of an unpursuing foe, all the ammunition, and so much of the provisions, were destroyed, for accelerating their flight, that Dunbar was actually obliged to send for thirty horse loads of the latter, before he reached Fort Cumberland; where he arrived a very few days after, with the shattered remains of the English troops.

On Mr. Braddock's unhappy catastrophe, the command of his Majesty's forces in North-America devolved upon Major-General Shirley. I before acquainted your Lordship of his return to New-York, and departure from thence to Albany, where he arrived the beginning of July.

Albany, my Lord, was the grand theatre of all the preparations for the northern expedition against Fort St. Frederick, as well as that to the westward, for the reduction of Niagara. The General, on his arrival there,

found not the former in the forwardness he had reason to expect. The provincials, discontented with the inactivity of a long encampment, Major-General Lyman was obliged to make short marches to prevent their disbanding; and the General was therefore detained awhile in that city, to hinder so fatal an event. His own troops, in the mean time, were filing off, in different divisions, from Schenectady towards Oswego.

Oswego, along the accustomed route, is computed to be about three hundred miles west from Albany. The first sixteen, to the village of Schenectady, is land carriage, in a good waggon road. From thence to the Little Falls, in the Mohawk River, at sixty-five miles distance, the batteaux* are set against a rapid stream; which too, in dry seasons, is so shallow, that the men are frequently obliged to turn out, and draw their craft over the rifts with inconceivable labour. At the Little Falls, the portage exceeds not a mile; the ground being marshy, will admit of no wheel-carriage, and therefore the Germans, who reside here, transport the batteaux in sleds, which they keep for that purpose. The same conveyance is used at the Great Carrying-Place, sixty miles beyond the Little Falls; all the way to which the current is still adverse, and extremely swift. The portage here is longer or shorter, according to the dryness or wetness of the seasons. In the last summer months, when rains are not frequent, it is usually six or eight miles across. Taking water again, we enter a narrow rivulet, called the Wood-creek, which leads into the Oneida Lake, distance forty miles. This stream, though favourable, being shallow, and its banks covered with thick woods, was at this time much obstructed with old logs and fallen trees. The Oneida Lake stretches from east to west about thirty miles, and in calm weather is passed with great facility. At its western extremity opens the Onondaga River, leading down to Oswego, situated at its entrance, on the south side of the Lake Ontario. Extremely difficult and hazardous is the passage through this river, as it abounds with rifts and rocks; and the current flowing with surprising rapidity. The princi-

* A batteau is a light flat-bottomed boat, widest in the middle, and at each end sharp pointed, of about 1500 weight burden, and managed by two men, with paddles and setting poles.

pal obstruction is twelve miles short of Oswego, and is a fall of about eleven feet perpendicular. The portage here is by land, not exceeding forty yards, before they launch for the last time.

Your Lordship, from this account, will readily conceive, that, through such a long, amphibious march, an army must proceed with prodigious risk and fatigue; and the batteaux be necessarily conducted by persons skilled in the navigation, and enured to hardships. For this service, General Shirley had engaged all the young men in the county of Albany, who formerly had been employed in the Indian trade at Oswego; and a vast number of batteaux were prepared for the conveyance of the troops, stores, and provisions.

Oswego was formerly garrisoned by twenty-five men; but, on the commencement of our present disputes, the number was augmented to fifty. Early this spring, fifty more were ordered up; and about the latter end of May, Capt. Broadstreet arrived there with two hundred, besides workmen to be employed in the naval preparations, pursuant to the scheme concerted in the congress of commissioners at Albany the last summer.

Col. Schuyler's New-Jersey regiment embarked in two divisions, from Schenectady, the beginning of July. Shirley's and Pepperell's were preparing to follow, when the melancholy news of Gen Braddock's defeat reached that place. This struck a general damp on the spirits of the soldiers, and many deserted. Great numbers of the batteau-men dispersed themselves into the country, and fled to their respective habitations. To engage the return of above half the fugitives, equally ineffectual were threats or promises, rewards or punishments. The General, however, sensible of the importance of the service, pursued his march in spite of every vexatious disappointment. As he passed their country, he called upon the Indians of the Six Nations at some of their castles; and sent embassadors to the rest, pressing them to join him, with assurances of his protection. But they seemed in general greatly disinclined to our western operations. Indian affairs had been too long neglected by the province of New-York, to which the principal management of them has always been committed. Neither the sums, allotted

for presents to those savages, were always, by our governors, fairly expended, nor the presents themselves honestly distributed. And partly through repeated frauds, and the omission of proper measures to conciliate their favour, our interest with them amounted to little more than a bare neutrality. Mr. Johnson, nevertheless, pretending a mighty influence over them, was entrusted with 5000*l.* sterling, in order to engage their assistance for the general benefit of his Majesty's service. For this purpose he held a congress with some of their principal sachems at Mount Johnson,* soon after his return from Alexandria.

Your Lordship is pleased to insist upon my "*descending into a detail of every transaction, how minute soever, that can give any light into the more secret springs of our political action.*" I shall therefore acquaint your Lordship, that, upon the general's arrival at Albany, Mr. Johnson laid before him a copy of the minutes of his late treaty with the Indians. These minutes, it seems, contained some unhandsome reflections upon his excellency; insinuating, that, to treat separately with them, he had employed one Lydius, a person not of the most unexceptionable character, either for loyalty or integrity. The single reason upon which the surmise could be founded, was this; Lydius, who formerly lived near Lake George, and whose Indian acquaintance was very extensive, had offered the general his assistance, in procuring the junction of a number of them, on the designed expeditions. Upon which he wrote to Mr. Johnson, intimating the pleasure it would give him, if he could make any use of this man in his Majesty's service. On delivering those minutes into the general's hands, Johnson, sensible of the insinuation, told him, he entirely disapproved the reflection they seemed to contain, and appeared ashamed of its insertion. Having perused the paper, Shirley could not avoid complaining of the ill usage; while the other, with solemn vows, protested he was not privy to it, and importuned him to return the minutes, that he might erase the obnoxious passage. The former confided in the sincerity of his protestations, but soon after had abundant reason to distrust his integrity.

* Sir William Johnson's own seat, near the lower Mohawk castle, about 36 miles from Albany.

The general had applied to one Staats, who resided near Albany, and had a considerable interest with the Indians of Stockbridge.* He proposed to him his raising a company of them, as a guard to the batteaux in their passage to Oswego. Privately was this man intimidated from the undertaking: and Mr. Johnson, to induce him to break through his promises, offered him a captain's commission, could he engage an Indian company to proceed on the expedition under his own direction.

Your Lordship, being already informed of this gentleman's appointment to the command of the provincial army, by the interest of General Shirley, will scarce have patience at the recital of a conduct so astonishing and ungrateful. The secret, my Lord, was this: Mr. Johnson was never distinguished for his sense or penetration. He had now for his aid-de-camp, Capt. Wraxal, a man of art and genius, who a few years before had been appointed secretary for Indian affairs, and clerk of the city and county of Albany. Governor Clinton had granted a commission for the latter of those offices, before the date of Wraxal's sign manual. A suit was therefore commenced, and is still depending between him and the person in possession of the office, suspended on the determination of a point of law. Upon this account, Wraxal became a humble dependant on Lieut. Governor De Lancey, before whom, unless superseded in the chief command, the case must be determined upon a writ of error: The latter, who had been a declared enemy to Johnson, throughout the whole of Clinton's administration, and had even prevented the assembly from discharging a very equitable demand he had against the province for services and disbursements, now determined to fall in with, and set him up, in competition with Shirley. Wraxal's post and dependance afforded a fine opportunity for the purpose: and so Johnson became strongly attached to the Lieut. Governor. Your Lordship will no longer wonder at his procuring all the Indians he could prevail upon, to join the provincial troops under his own command; or at his attempts to excite others to embarrass and obstruct the general's designs upon the Lake Ontario. In support of a charge

* Stockbridge, by the Indians called Housatonic, lies upon the western confines of the Massachusetts-Bay.

so heavy as this, I think it incumbent upon me to assign the following instances: 1. Not an Indian joined General Shirley at Schenectady, agreeably to Mr. Johnson's positive assurances. 2. Nor at either of the castles in the five cantons, as he passed through them to Oswego: but, on the contrary, 3, One Brant, an Onondaga, (three of whose sons were in Johnson's army) at the head of several other Indians, declared to Mr. Shirley, at Oswego, that it was a place of trade and peace; that there should be no war there; and that he should not disturb the French; adding, that he was going with the like message to Canada. The general having convinced him, that the expulsion of the French from their encroachments must redound to the advantage of the Six Nations, he asserted, that Mr. Johnson had sent them upon this embassy to Canada. Though this appeared utterly incredible, it is nevertheless certain. 4. Several other Indians arrived from the Onondaga castle, with a belt, declaring it to have been sent them by Mr. Johnson, with his request, that not a man of them would join the King's troops, under the command of General Shirley. 5. Others also, from the Seneca, Oneida, and Cayuga cantons, concurred in the like reports; particularly one Redhead, an Indian of great fame, and a speaker at the late congress at Mount-Johnson, came to Oswego, in his way to Oswagatic or la Gallette, and desired the cessation of all military designs; affirming, that with the same request he was going to the French.

It was with difficulty, my Lord, these Indians were reconciled to our attempts, detained at Oswego, and thereby prevented from communicating our operations to the enemy. The general, from these instances, became more and more suspicious, that the faction at New-York were endeavouring to embarrass and impede his measures. What farther confirmed his suspicions, that the Lieut. Governor of New-York, with that view, made Mr. Johnson his instrument, was a letter, which, after his arrival at Oswego, he received from the latter, wherein he justified that very aspersion, before disavowed, contained in the minutes above recounted.

My Lord, we will now leave Mr. Shirley at Oswego; and pursue the course of transactions, as well at New-York, as in the southern colonies.

Dunbar, having reached Fort Cumberland, dispatched an Indian express to General Shirley, with an account of the defeat, and the necessary returns respecting the troops under his command; acquainting him, moreover, with his intention of marching to Philadelphia, and his hopes of meeting his orders at Shippensburgh. About the same time, Mr. Dinwiddie wrote to Dunbar, proposing a second attempt on Fort Du Quesne. But a council being thereupon held, the members of which were Col. Dunbar, Lieut. Col. Gage, Governor Sharpe, Major Chapman, Major Sparke, and Sir John St. Clair, it was unanimously conceived, that Mr. Dinwiddie's scheme was impracticable. The very next day, being the second of August, Dunbar began his march towards Philadelphia, with 1600 men, 4 six pounders, and as many cohorns; leaving behind him the Virginia and Maryland companies, and about 400 wounded. At this sudden departure of the forces, the Virginians were extremely disobliged, as not only exposing their frontiers, and occasioning the daily desertion of their provincials; but because the enemy, in flying parties, penetrated into the province, and on many of the inhabitants committed robberies and murder. What judgment ought to be formed of this retreat, I leave your Lordship to determine. Certainly those southern colonies ought to have strengthened General Braddock with a large body of provincial forces, which had doubtless prevented all this effusion of blood and treasure, the fatal consequence of their ill-judged parsimony. Upon the advices received from Dunbar, Mr. Shirley gave orders for renewing the attempt, if the southern colonies would readily afford him a competent reinforcement.

Governor Morris having convened the Pennsylvania assembly, informed them of the retreat of our army, and in a well-drawn, pathetic speech, pressed them to the most vigorous measures for the defence of their borders. They proceeded so far as to vote for raising 50,000*l.*; but offering a bill for taxing the proprietary-estate, an immediate rupture ensued, of which your Lordship is long since acquainted, by the ample accounts in sundry late pamphlets on that and similar subjects. As to Virginia, now equally

open to the irruptions of the enemy, four companies of rangers were ordered out, and the assembly voted 40,000*l.* for furnishing a thousand men for the frontier defence. About the same time, met the council and assembly of New-Jersey, and the latter voted 30,000*l.* for the public service: but as the house proposed to prolong the currency of the bills for nine years, to which Mr. Belcher, who never swerves from his instructions, not being able to assent, 15,000*l.* only was raised, and its use restricted to keeping on foot her regiment at Oswego, commanded by Col. Schuyler. At New-York, the house of representatives assembled on the 5th of August, and set out with a generous spirit. Agreeable to the request of the Massachusetts-Bay government, always foremost in military affairs, they resolved to reinforce the provincial army, destined for Crown-Point, with 400 men. The bill was actually passed the house for that purpose; and the council had determined to conceal from their knowledge, the contents of a second letter from Gen. Shirley to Col. Dunbar, of the 7th of August, in which he ordered him to proceed with his troops to Albany, for the protection of that important post, in case the colony forces should meet with a repulse. By this bill, the assembly proposed to invest the respective captains of the city militia with an arbitrary power to draught men for the service. The design of this extraordinary project was suspected to serve a particular purpose, on a new election of representatives, which, according to custom, it was thought would immediately ensue the arrival of Sir Charles Hardy, who was soon expected with a commission for the chief command of this province. It certainly was a favourite bill; for, contrary to precedent, the lieut. governor came to the council board,* and pressed them to pass it: but when he perceived an amendment preparing for a ballot of the recruits in New-York, as well as in the other counties, he immediately laid the general's letter to Dunbar before the house; in consequence of

* Before the administration of Governor Cosby, it was customary for the governors to be present in the council, even when sitting in their legislative capacity. But since that period, they have not openly interposed in the consultations of that branch of the legislature.

which, the design of a reinforcement instantly dropped, and the assembly adjourned the next day.

After what I have already recounted, your Lordship will not, I presume, be at all surprised to find Mr. De Lancey leaving no device untried to maintain the sole direction of the assembly. He knew that on his interest with the representatives depended his credit with the ministry; and that with the expiration of his power, to carry certain points of prerogative, would also expire their opinion of his importance. His agents in England, to support their patron, had hitherto amused a certain noble Lord with many specious promises. They had represented his capacity, to serve the Crown, in very magnificent terms; nor forgot his readiness to procure, whenever an opportunity presented, the obedience of the house to some favourite instructions. Hence it is evident, that the loss of his ascendency, over that branch of the legislature, must naturally terminate in the extinction of his grandeur derived from the Crown.

While he held the reins of government, assumed on Sir Danvers Osborn's decease, the ministry had none to inspect his conduct, or trace him through the mazy labyrinth of his politics. From himself came all their intelligence, and hence undoubtedly none in his own disfavour. During these golden days of security and repose, he resigned himself to pleasure, and indulged his natural disposition to voluptuousness and ease. The province, the mean while, was principally governed by his secretary; who, like a second Atlas, bore the chief burden of the state. Thus negligent of his politics, his popularity began to suffer a manifest declension. It was, moreover, notably abridged by his passing the charter before-mentioned, repugnant, by his own confession, to the dictates of his judgment. By this step he incurred such general umbrage, that the very members of the assembly could not be wrought upon to confirm it. Nay, so disgustful to the people was this charter, that a majority of the most reputable inhabitants united against it in a petition to the house. Civil liberty, and, by some, even the rights of conscience were imagined to be in danger; and the opposition being, as it were, *pro aris & focis*, was extremely animated. The Lieutenant-Governor became

now apprehensive of the consequence. He stood upon the point of resigning his command to a successor hourly expected; and, without regaining his seat as chief justice, his popularity appeared descending from its meridian; nor, in case of a dissolution, was he insensible his authority with the house must suffer a total eclipse. Your Lordship cannot therefore but observe, of what moment it was to secure the friendship of the next governor. Permit me to mention the arts, whereby it was accomplished.

Sir Charles Hardy arrived in our harbour on the 2d of September, 1755. The council immediately convened themselves for his reception. In the midst of their consultations, Mr. Oliver De Lancey, without leave of the board, bolts into the chamber, and modestly interposes his advice, to send a message to Sir Charles, requesting his continuance in the ship till the next morning. The reason assigned was, to gain time for drawing out the militia, to receive his Excellency, at landing, with the formality and honour due to his rank. But the true secret was, to gain an opportunity for the Lieutenant-Governor, and a select junto, to pass the evening with him, in order to conciliate his graces, and give him early impressions in favour of their party. The next day, the Governor published his commission; and was, by Mr. De Lancey, invited to a public entertainment. In the evening, they conducted him to the common, to hear the acclamations of the people; and, on every occasion, followed him with servile court and adulation. To impress a high sense of his predecessor's popularity, they spared no pains. For this purpose also they intrigued with the assembly, and city corporation, two elective bodies, and thence under his influence. Of the latter, Mr. Oliver De Lancey, as alderman, was a member; and, with true fraternal affection, stimulated the board to insert in their address a compliment to his brother. A modest motion, my Lord! and so vehemently urged, that it was carried, though not without some opposition. The burden of that momentous passage, without which the whole had been jejeune and insipid, was discharged in these terms: "*We have the "greatest reason to expect the continuation of that wise and "happy administration, we have been blest with some time "past.*" Still greater was Mr. De Lancey's interest in

the assembly, as I have already had the honour to acquaint your Lordship. But one gentleman in that house opposed the flattery of their address. He is a man of an affluent, independent fortune; a bold, unshackled spirit, and of strong natural parts. The address was calculated to secure De Lancey's power both with governor and people: the former, by displaying to Sir Charles his formidable interest in that house: the latter, by preventing a dissolution; than which nothing was the object of greater dread. "It has, Sir, (these are the expressions) been "usual in this colony, at the accession of a new govern- "or, to give the people an opportunity of a new election "of representatives. If your Excellency conceives, that "such a measure, in the present state of affairs, will be "consistent with his Majesty's service, and the security "of this his loyal colony, it will be agreeable to us, and "to the people we have the honour to represent.

"The importance of the business under our considera- "tion, and the despatch necessary to accomplish it, will "plead our excuse to your Excellency for not being "earlier in this address.

"And here, Sir, we should have ended, were we not "in justice bound to pay some acknowledgment to the "administration of your Excellency's predecessor, the "Lieutenant-Governor; whose upright intentions, as "far as we had opportunities of discovering them, ever "tended to his Majesty's honour and service, and the "welfare and prosperity of this colony."

Mr. De Lancey is one of the most fortunate of men. While the people impatiently expected a dissolution, an express arrived, on the 12th of September, with a confused, but alarming account of an action at Lake George. This rendered it necessary for Sir Charles Hardy immediately to proceed to Albany. Thither the Lieut. Governor accompanied him, and had thereby a fair opportunity to engross and cajole him. I shall suspend the relation of his success, till I have laid before your Lordship the progress of the provincial army, and their repulse of the French.

Major-General Lyman, being advanced with the troops to the Carrying-Place, about sixty miles from Albany, was waiting the arrival of General Johnson, who set out from thence on the 8th of August, with the train of

artillery. Lyman had begun a fort at the landing, on the east side of Hudson's River, now called Fort Edward. About the latter end of the month, General Johnson, with the main body, moved forward fourteen miles more northerly, and pitched his camp at the south end of Lake George, before called St. Sacrament. By some Indians, who had been sent out as scouts, he received the following advices: That they had discovered a party of French and Indians at Ticonderoga, situate on the isthmus between the north end of Lake George and the southern part of Lake Champlain, fifteen miles on this side Crown-Point; but that no works were there thrown up. To have secured this pass, which commanded the route to Crown-Point through the Lake, had been a measure extremely advisable. Mr. Johnson, informed of its importance, on the 1st of September, wrote to General Shirley, that he was impatient to get up his batteaux; proposing then to proceed with part of the troops, and seize upon that pass. The French, however, took advantage of the delay, and cut out work enough for him at his own camp.

Of the troops which sailed from Brest in the spring, amounting to about 3000, your Lordship knows, eight companies were taken with the Lys and Alcide men of war, who fell in with our fleet commanded by Admiral Boscawen. One thousand were landed at Louisburgh, and the residue arrived at Quebec, with Mons. de Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada, and Baron Dieskau, commander of the forces. The French court, well apprised of the singular consequence of Oswego, had determined to reduce it. Such being the Baron's instructions, he immediately proceeded to Montreal; from whence he detached 700 of his troops up the river, intending himself speedily to join them with the remainder. Just before he had made the necessary preparations, Montreal was alarmed with the news of our forming a numerous army near Lake St. Sacrament, for the reduction of Fort Frederick, and perhaps to penetrate into the heart of Canada. Whereupon a grand council being held, the Baron was importuned to proceed through Lake Champlain, for the defence of that fortress; nor was he, without great difficulty prevailed upon to alter his intended route.

Dieskau, having in vain waited the coming up of our

army, at length resolved himself to advance towards them ; and, if he proved victorious, to desolate our northern settlement, lay the towns of Albany and Schenectady in ashes, and cut off all communication with Oswego. A dreadful resolution, my Lord ! And had he succeeded—I tremble at the thought—had he succeeded—but the Supreme Disposer of events had not yet devoted us to ruin ; and therefore, like the counsels of Achitophel, blasted the sanguinary purpose.

For the execution of this design, he embarked at Fort St. Frederick with 2000 men in batteaux, and landed at the South Bay.* Of this movement, Gen. Johnson had not the least intimation, till his scouts discovered their actual departure from the South Bay towards Fort Edward. By an English prisoner the baron was told that the Fort was defenceless, and our camp at the Lake, when he left it a few days before, without lines, and destitute of cannon. Having approached within two miles of Fort Edward, he opened his design to his troops, consisting of 600 militia, as many Indians, and 200 regulars. To animate his irregulars, who seemed disinclined to the attack proposed, he assured them, that inevitable must be their success ; " that on reducing this fort, the English camp must ne- " cessarily be abandoned, and their army disperse in great " disorder ; that this would enable them to subdue Albany ; " and by starving the garrison of Oswego, superadd to " their conquest the absolute dominion of Ontario." With whatever intrepidity this harangue inspired his European troops, the Canadians and savages, fearful of our cannon, were utterly averse to the scheme ; but declared their willingness to surprise our camp, where they expected nothing beyond musquetry.† Thus disappointed in his principal design, he changed his route, and began to move against the main body at the Lake. Gen. Johnson, on the information of his scouts, had dispatched separate messengers to Fort Edward, with advice of the enemy's approach towards that garrison ; of which one was unfortunately intercepted ; the rest, who got back, reported, that they had descried the enemy about four miles to the northward of the fort. Instead of any attempt to discover

* About 16 miles from the English encampment.

† Our artillery was got up to the camp from Fort Edward, but a day or two before the action, of which the French had no intelligence.

the strength of the guard left with their batteaux at the South Bay, which might easily have been cut off, a council of war resolved the next morning to detach 1000 men, with some Indians, to fall upon, or, as Mr. Johnson expresses it in his letter to the several governors, "to *catch* the enemy in their retreat." On this service commanded Col. Williams, a brave officer, who met the Baron within four miles of our camp.

The English, my Lord, were encamped on the banks of Lake George, being covered on either side by a low, thick-wooded swamp. After the march of the detachment, Gen. Johnson drew up the cannon, then at 500 yards distance from the front. Trees were also felled, to form some sort of breastwork: and this was all his cover against an attack, having hitherto strangely delayed the proper retrenchments.

About an hour after Williams's departure, a heavy fire was heard; which evidently approaching, Gen. Johnson judged rightly, that our detachment was retreating; for the French were superior in number, amounting to about 1800. Upon this he sent out a reinforcement to support them; which was very judiciously conducted, on the death of Williams, by Lieutenant Colonel Whiting, a Connecticut officer, who gained much applause at the reduction of Louisburgh. Gen. Johnson informs the governors, "That "about half an hour after eleven, the enemy appeared in "sight, and marched along the road in very regular order, "directly upon our centre: That they made a small halt, "about 150 yards from the breast-work, when the regular "troops made the grand and centre attack; while the "Canadians and Indians squatted and dispersed on our "flanks." This halt was the Baron's capital error; for, amidst the consternation of the camp, had he closely followed up the detachment, he had easily forced their lines, and gained a complete victory. But by continuing for some time a platoon fire, with little execution at that distance, our men recovered their spirits. As soon as the artillery began to play, Dieskau and his regulars found themselves totally deserted by the militia and savages, who all skulked into the swamps, took to trees, and maintained a scattered fire upon our flanks, for some time, with variable and intermitting briskness. Having now no command of any part of his army, except his handful of

regulars, the Baron thought proper to retire; which he did in very great disorder. A party from the camp followed him, fell upon his rear, dispersed the remaining soldiers about him, and being himself wounded in the leg, was found resting on a stump, utterly abandoned and destitute of succour. Feeling for his watch, to surrender it, one of our men suspecting him in search of a pistol, poured a charge through his hips; of which wound he is not yet recovered. Upon his retreat, the militia and Indians retired in small parties: and as the English neglected to continue the pursuit, they halted about four miles from the camp, at the very place where the engagement happened in the morning. Opening their packs for refreshment, they here entered into consultation, respecting a second attack. Why the enemy was not pursued, when their retreat became general, no tolerable reason has ever yet been assigned; and Mr. Johnson, in his letter, seems very artfully to evade it. Nothing, however, could be more fortunate than the gallant behaviour of a party, consisting of about 200, led by Capt. M'Ginnes, who had been detached from Fort Edward, to the assistance of the main body. They fell upon the French in the evening, put an end to their consultations, and gave them a total overthrow. M'Ginnes died of the wounds he received in this rencounter, having signalized himself by a spirit and conduct that would have done honour to a more experienced officer.

Mr. Wraxall, in his letter to the Lieut. Governor of New-York, told him, he stood so near Gen. Johnson, when the latter received his wound, that "he thought he saw the ball enter:" which curious piece of intelligence was obliterated before its publication. I only mention this circumstance to convince your Lordship, that the most intrepid soldier hath not always the same presence of mind.

If the dusk of the evening was too far advanced, before the repulse at the Lake, for an immediate pursuit, (which by the way could not be the case, since M'Ginnes's encounter was subsequent) yet the neglect of it the next day admits of no colourable apology. Mr. Lyman urged it with great warmth; but the General, with most of the field officers, are accused of an equal disinclination. Mr. Johnson, to judge by his letter, seemed well satisfied with his escape, and determined with this action to close the

present campaign. It was probably to avoid the prosecution of the expedition, that he transmitted no account of the battle to General Shirley; contenting himself with requesting Lieut. Governor Phipps to send a copy of his letter from Boston, though his own situation was 200 miles nearer to Oswego. The gentleman at Albany, to whom his dispatches were entrusted, suspecting their contents, and conceiving their communication to the General absolutely necessary for his Majesty's service, broke open the letter to Governor Phipps, and sent an express with a copy to Oswego.

The Indians, during the whole of the engagement, some of the Mohawks only excepted, retired from the camp, waiting the event of the conflict at a convenient distance. Nor indeed was their assistance expected, by those who knew their boasted fidelity was a mere delusion, and Mr. Johnson's so much magnified influence, what it has since appeared to all men, the grossest imposture. They even declared before their march, they intended not to engage, but to be witnesses of the gallantry of our troops. And had Dieskau won the day, equally ready had they been to scalp their brethren the English, as now they appeared to exercise their brutal dexterity on the French. Moreover, they came in a body to Albany, immediately after the battle, on pretence of celebrating the success of our arms, and to condole with the widows of those who fell in the action. This, says one of Mr. Johnson's encomiasts, is their custom; subjoining prophetically, that they were in a fortnight after their departure to return to the camp. The savages, my Lord, observe no such custom, save on the conclusion of an enterprise; whereas this was scarcely commenced; and as to their return, it is notorious they never did. Besides, had the General the real interest pretended, would he not, for once, have induced them to postpone their triumphant festivity, and untimely condolence, when their presence at the camp, would they really fight, was of indispensable necessity; and himself in expectation of a second attack; nor, by the strain of his letter, exempt from a little perturbation of mind?

To render the lustre of this gentleman's character still more refulgent, by preventing any one's sharing with him the glory of the day, a junto combined at the camp, and

framed a letter,* impeaching Mr. Lyman, the second in command, of dastardly carriage, which they procured one Cole, a fellow of no reputation, to sign, and convey to the press. A notable instance of the amazing latitude to which an invidious spirit is capable of proceeding: so true is the poet's observation,

> ———Men that make
> Envy and crooked malice nourishment,
> Dare bite the best.—— *Shaks.*

For, in reality, no man, my Lord, behaved with more magnanimity, than the unfortunate object of their jealousy: and from his superior merit actually arose their malignity, as he thence rivalled their deified idol. The reason why this much injured officer deferred his vindication, was not only the disgraceful name of his calumniator, but because he expected that justice from the public; who, accordingly, in testimony of his merit, vested him, the next campaign, with the same important post. But numbers of witnesses, eye witnesses, utterly impartial, and not belonging to the camp, are ready to depose, that by them he was seen fighting like a lion, and exposing his life in the hottest of the battle; not to mention a gentleman † of undoubted veracity, to whom Gen. Johnson, two days after the action, frankly acknowledged, in his tent, that to Lyman was chiefly to be ascribed the honour of the victory.

I shall now, my Lord, take the liberty to make a few remarks on Mr. Johnson's letter to the governors; and examine the reasons assigned against pursuing his advantage, as well as those alleged for not prosecuting the expedition. The repulse of the French delivered us from such unspeakable calamity, naturally to be apprehended from the enemy's success, that we have infinite reason to thank the God of Armies, for thus remarkably rescuing us from the jaws of perdition. Nor ought we to mention either our officers or men, who generally behaved as well as could be expected, without a suitable tribute of gratitude. But the General's own letter will

* ——Minds that will mount into superior state,
Climb mischief's ladder.—— *Richards's Messalina.*

† Col. John Rensselaer, of Albany.

enable me to convince your Lordship, that the magnificent trophies, erected to his fame, sprung wholly from the New-York cabal; whose services, when encircled with his laurels, he was ever after to acknowledge and retaliate

—sana redemitus tempora lauro
—veterem Anchisem agnoscit amicum.

By this letter he appears so conscious of deserving reprehension, rather than applause, that the latter part of his epistle is apparently calculated to divert all inquiry into the true reason of his not pursuing the enemy, and breaking up the campaign, without paying a visit to Crown-Point. "Our men (says he) have suffered so "much fatigue for three days past, and are constantly "standing upon their arms by day, half the whole upon "guard by night, and the rest lie down armed and accou-"tred, that both officers and men are almost worn out." I cannot help thinking, that had the General begun his breast-work more seasonably, and not waited for intelligence of the enemy's advancing, before he ordered up his cannon, his men had been less fatigued by this redoubtable action. But lest the world should remain in the dark about the real grounds of his apprehension, he proceeds: "The enemy may rally; and we judge they "have considerable reinforcements near at hand." I question, my Lord, whether the whole circle of history affords a single instance of an army's rallying, after the slaughter of 1000 men (his own computation) out of about 1800, the whole force of the enemy. And whence he conjectured they had any reinforcements so near at hand, as not to be able to join their routed detachment, still remains one of those arcana of state, which, by common understandings, is not to be fathomed: or, if the French consisted of 200 grenadiers, 800 Canadians, and 700 Indians, (the Baron's account to the General) so great a slaughter, as is pretended by the letter, with the loss of the greatest part of the principal officers, and Mons. St. Pierre, who had the chief command and influence over the Indians, must have reduced them to less than 800. From these, one would have imagined, there was no danger of a second attack. Far more probable was it, that for so momentous an enterprize, as the reduction of the forts before-mentioned, the French had mustered all

the forces they could spare from Crown-Point and Ticonderoga, where many of the regular troops were posted; especially, as they went unfurnished with cannon. Add to this, that our army was now flushed with victory; the enemy, on the contrary, disconcerted; and, according to his account, most of their principal officers, and many of their men, slain; the Indians too, by the death of St. Pierre, probably were vering and dissipated. This, if such were the facts, was a glorious opportunity to dispossess them of Ticonderoga. But the longer they were suffered to fortify, the more arduous the task to dislodge them, and the greater the loss of our present advantage, resulting from their defeat and our success. Besides, was there any probability of their return the next day, to re-assault the camp with musquetry, when the effects of our cannon (admitting them to have done the pretended execution*) were still so recent in their memories; and to the Indians, even the first time so visibly tremendous? But the cautious general subjoins: "We do not think it either "prudent or safe to be sending out parties in search of "the dead." I agree, it had been more for his Majesty's service to have dispatched them in pursuit of the *living*. After a short paragraph concerning the wounded, his panic returns: "I think we may expect, very "shortly, a more formidable attack." More formidable than what? Why, than that of their regulars firing at a distance, and the Canadians and Indians running away: "and that the enemy will then come with artillery." I wonder whether this gentleman expected to reduce Crown-Point without being exposed to the French artillery? But whence this surmise of a more formidable attack, he thinks not proper to communicate. It was well known, the whole force sent from France amounted to about 3000: that of these, Admiral Boscawen took eight companies, and 1000 were in garrison at Louisburgh. Admitting, therefore, that all the rest arrived at Quebec, without any loss, (a favourable concession) the

* The cannon were so ill served, and highly elevated, that they did, beyond all controversy, no execution at all; none of the dead being observed to have been killed by cannon shot; but amongst the tops of the trees, thirty and forty feet high, they made great and useless havock.

utmost amount that reached Canada was about 1700; of which 500 were at Cadaraqui; so that, without any allowance for those killed at the camp, or in the mock pursuit which ensued, the whole number of regulars that arrived with Dieskau, and could come against him, but little exceeded 1100. The gentleman proceeds: "The "late Col. Williams had the ground cleared for building "a stockaded fort: our men are so harassed, and obliged "to be upon watchful duty, that I think it would be both "unseasonable, and I fear in vain, to set them at work "upon the designed fort. I design to order the New-"Hampshire regiment up here, to reinforce us; and I "hope some of the designed reinforcements will be with "us in a few days. When these fresh troops arrive I "shall"—I dare say your Lordship expects at least the demolition of Fort St. Frederick: nothing like it—"I "shall immediately set about building a fort." Still the strongest symptoms of terror and alarm: for, it is evident from this passage, he had now laid aside all thoughts of prosecuting the expedition, should even succours arrive, and in greater numbers than were necessary. All his puissant purposes terminated now "*in setting about build-*"*ing a fort.*" And if indeed he thought Crown-Point impregnable by the army then under his command, above 4,000 strong, he must necessarily conclude it would be found so the next year, by double the number: and if then attempted through another route, his grand fortress at the end of the Lake was absolutely useless. Nor would it prove any defence to the country between Lake George and Hudson's River, while the French could penetrate it by two other more usual passages, the South-Bay and Wood-Creek; through the former of which they had actually marched to his camp. And as to their formidable attack with artillery, whence could they bring it, but from Crown-Point? And if they learnt, he intended, in the present campaign, nothing beyond building a stockaded fort, that very intelligence was sufficient to induce them to attack the camp with cannon; against which, I am confident, his fort would make but a very indifferent resistance. But, in reality, it was most probable they would exert their efforts in strengthening Crown-Point and Ti-

conderoga; the reduction of which, for not improving our success at the camp, will cost us a vast addition of blood and treasure.

Thus, my Lord, ended this expensive expedition in erecting a wooden fort; faulted by Mr. Montresor*; and, I dare say, derided by the enemy. So that if ever any man obtained laurels without earning them, it was this fortunate general; who, by the splendid representations of his secretary, and the sovereign decree of his patron, is exalted into an eminent hero. To the panegyrical pen of Mr. Wraxal, and the—sic volo sic jubeo—of Lieut. Gov. De Lancey, is to be ascribed that mighty renown, which echoed through the colonies, reverberated to Europe, and elevated a raw, inexperienced youth into a kind of second Marlborough.

Fortunate puer, tu nunc eris alter ab illo.

So capricious is fortune, and so fond of sporting with human affairs. The emperor Severus (I think it is Herodian tells the story) when obliged to raise the siege of Atras, the only attempt in which he had ever been baffled, thought himself conquered because he did not conquer: but our hero, it seems is a conqueror because he was not conquered. When a general finds himself attacked in his camp, a very quaker, methinks, would forget his principles, and follow, in spite of Barclay and the meeting, the powerful dictates of nature's incentive to self-defence. And did the valour of our warrior carry him an inch farther? Did he pursue an enemy, who, by flying, with the loss of about thirty men, exhibited a full proof of a most extraordinary pusillanimity? Or, if his wound (which, considering it was made by a ball visible in its flight to his aid-de-camp, must have been very capacious) rendered his personal pursuit impracticable, were any orders given to improve the fortune of the day, and destroy a fugitive army? Was not, on the contrary, the noble ardor of those who offered to pursue, by positive orders, repressed; and a poltroon adversary suffered to escape, whose recent cowardice promised a general slaughter, and who, in their present panic, had fallen a sacrifice to our victorious arms?

* Chief Engineer.

These are facts of incontestable notoriety: and if your Lordship demands, whence then the accounts that six or eight hundred, nay a thousand, fell before the camp, (when, in reality, the enemy lost not above two hundred in all the three engagements, which is less than our own loss) there is no other way of accounting for these glaring misrepresentations, than that it suited our present system of politics to have this action exaggerated and magnified. It was necessary to exalt Johnson, in order to depress Shirley; and they, who had represented the expedition against Crown-Point of such prodigious importance, thought it advisable to render every thing important that was transacted in that expedition. Every man among us knew it to be an imposition; and yet ran the risk of having his head broke for offering to doubt it. It was notorious, not above thirty of the enemy were found slain at the camp; and that the rest of the dead could neither fly into the air, nor dive into the earth. Where then was the remainder? To anticipate the question, lest any one should have effrontery enough to start it, they were carried off by a flying enemy, who took to their heels to save their own lives; and yet were so anxious about their dead, as to carry them all along. Such manifest contradictions are we obliged to believe!

Nay, to excuse this favourite General, the blame of not following his advantage, has been thrown on Mr. Shirley, and attributed to his positive directions. Besides the absurdity of the accusation, that he could be accessory to an omission of this nature, it was absolutely impossible for him to know whether the enemy would at all risk an attack. Your Lordship will consider, the General was then at least 365 miles from the place of action, nor advised of it till nine days after it happened. But when he received the intelligence, so far from directing to the inactivity of a merely defensive conduct, that he dispatched repeated expresses to Mr. Johnson, urging him, in the most pressing terms, to pursue the advantage already obtained; and if unable to proceed in person, to commit the charge of the troops to Major-General Lyman: or, if he found it impracticable to invest Crown-Point that season, at least to make himself master, if possible, of the enemy's advanced post at Ticonderoga. But all was ineffectual:

the laurel being already acquired, fortune was not again to be put to a desperate venture.

We will now, if your Lordship pleases, return to Oswego, where General Shirley arrived the 21st of August, and take a view of the course of his proceedings in that quarter.

Your Lordship may remember, that the troops marched from Schenectady with scarce half the number of batteau-men, which contracted for the service; and these, by frequent desertions, gradually decreased. Hence the transportation of provisions, through this long tract of country, was so much impeded, that, until the latter end of September, it was impossible, upon that account, to move from Oswego.

The general, however, had, in the mean time, made all the necessary preparations for the expedition to Niagara: and as the arrival of a large convoy with provisions was then hourly expected, he held a council of war, at his camp, on the 18th of September; at which were present

His Excellency the GENERAL,

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|---|---|
| Lieut. Col. Ellison, | Major Bradstreet, Adj. Gen. |
| Lieut. Col. Mercer, | Capt. Barford, |
| Col. Schuyler, | Capt. Broadley, Com. of the |
| Capt. Patten, | vessels on the Lake. |
| Major Littlehales, | |

The general informed this council, that through the great desertion of batteau-men, the scarcity of wagons on the Mohawk River, and the desertion of sledgemen at the Great Carrying-Place, the conveyance of provisions and other stores had been so much retarded, that there had not been at any time since his arrival, a sufficient quantity of dry provisions to enable him to go upon action: but as a large supply would probably very soon arrive, he was determined to proceed immediately. He thought proper to inform them of his intelligence concerning the situation and strength of the enemy, which was to this purpose: That before he left the Oneida Carry-Place, two trusty Indians, with as many Albany traders, were sent as spies to Niagara; who, after fourteen days absence, returned with an account, That the Indians had been two days in the French fort there, which was built partly of stone, but principally of logs, being in

a weak and ruinous condition : that the garrison consisted of about 60 French and 100 Indians, who said they had for some time expected 900 Indians and a quantity of stores from Canada ; but were apprehensive their vessels were taken : that letters came in frequently from Fort Du Quesne, whence also they expected a considerable reinforcement. The spies added, that the Indians were disgusted at the division of the spoils on the defeat of General Braddock, and that the French had lost 30 men in that engagement : that they saw many English scalps, with a large quantity of cloths and furniture : that the French had there 70 or 80 large batteaux, with which they intended to meet and board our vessels : and this article was confirmed by another Indian, who set out after the spies, and meeting one of our row-gallies, cautioned the commander against a nearer approach to Niagara.

His Excellency also informed the council, that an Indian spy had been with the Outawawas, who assisted the French in the action at Monongahela ; that they had declared their inclination to lay down the hatchet ; and that others, more westerly, gave the like intimations ; which had induced him to despatch four messengers with belts of wampum, to invite them into our alliance, or at least to engage their neutrality.

Upon the general's arrival at Oswego, he thought it necessary to procure intelligence from Frontenac ; and for that purpose sent out a party of white men and Indians, who returned about the 8th of September, with information, that they landed upon an island, about six furlongs from the fort, from whence they had a full view of it ; that it was built in a bay, near the edge of the water, and surrounded by a stone wall ; the land behind it cleared, and rising in a gradual acclivity ; that two vessels, of about 40 tons each, lay moored in the harbour, unrigged, and without guns ; that at the east end of the fort, there was a regular encampment, and six marquis tents ; from the extent of which they imagined it contained about 3 or 400 men. Upon the side of the bay, opposite the fort, the land projected about half a mile : between this and the island they were upon, was another little island, about three quarters of a mile from the fort, inhabited by about twenty

Indian families. The spies added, that there were several other adjacent islands; but they discovered no batteaux. His Excellency farther acquainted the council, that an Indian that came to Oswego about the time of his arrival, and had left Frontenac nine days before, declared there were thirty French within the fort; a considerable quantity of powder, and many guns mounted on the surrounding wall, which was about six feet thick; and the encampment without consisted of 600 soldiers. The information of Redhead, to the same effect, was also laid before the council, with the addition, that there were two encampments, one of Canadians, and the other of regulars, in a hollow, undiscoverable from the island; and that he was told, by the commandant, of a much larger number of troops expected with the General, lately arrived from France; when they proposed to invest Oswego. Gen. Johnson's letter of the 1st of September, signifying, that his scouts informed him of the departure of 300 canoes to Frontenac, was also considered: and from these articles of intelligence, the account of the arrival of the French troops, the suspension of all intercourse between Frontenac and Niagara, and their lying still so long at the former, his Excellency observed, it was not improbable their design might be to make a descent on Oswego, if the whole force proceeded on the expedition to Niagara, which was about 150 miles to the westward; and from whence, at that advanced season, they could not return in less than thirty days. That this was the more probable, as Oswego was of the greatest importance for securing the frontiers of the western colonies, maintaining the British dominion over the great lakes, and the country beyond the Apalachian mountains. He also took notice of the defenceless state of Oswego, which would render it necessary to leave a strong garrison there: that the number of effectives at that time in the three regiments and independent companies, including serjeants and corporals, amounted to 1376; and that the irregulars, who were Albany men and Indians, procured by his own emissaries, consisted only of 120. For the better security of the place, the General had ordered to be built, with all possible dispatch, a strong, wooden fort, capable of mounting can-

non, with pickets and a ditch, on a high point, commanding the old fort on the east side of the river. This, he observed, was already begun, and would soon be completed: and that for the proposed enterprise, he had built and equipped a sloop and schooner of sixty tons each; two row-gallies, each of twenty tons; with eight whale-boats, each capable of carrying sixteen men. He then informed them of his intention to embark for Niagara, as soon as the expected convoy arrived, with 600 regulars, including gunners and matrosses, besides the Albany and Indian irregulars, one 18 pounder, four 12 pounders, a ten-inch mortar, a seven-inch howet, two royals, and five small swivel-howets; the vessels, whale-boats, and a competent number of batteaux; leaving behind him 700 effectives, two 12 pounders, ten 6 pounders, six 3 pounders, and eight cohorns.

The council, upon this representation, were unanimously of opinion, in answer to the several questions proposed, that the force intended for the Niagara expedition was sufficient: but with respect to Oswego, some imagined it would not be defensible: the majority, however, were of contrary sentiments. All agreed, that a feint upon Frontenac, while his excellency was gone to Niagara, was by no means advisable. They universally concurred in opinion, that a fort ought to be erected on the west side of the old fort: and that it would be for his Majesty's service to prepare materials for building one or more vessels, larger than any of those already upon the lake, capable of mounting ten 6 pounders, besides swivels, two more row-gallies, and a hundred good whale-boats.

In consequence of this advice, 600 regulars were draughted, the artillery and ordnance stores shipped on board the sloop Ontario, part of the provisions on board the sloop Oswego, and the residue was ready for the row-gallies, whale-boats, and batteaux. While these preparations were making, the weather was extremely wet and tempestuous. The rains began to fall so heavily on the 18th of the month, that on the best chosen ground the tents of the soldiers were overwhelmed. As 400 of the troops must have gone in open boats, it was impossible to pass the lake, with any safety, till the storm abated; which was on the 26th of the month, when orders were imme-

diately issued for the embarkation of the troops: but these could not be carried into execution. Though the rains ceased for a short space of time, the western winds began to blow with redoubled fury; and were again succeeded by continual rains for thirteen days together. During this boisterous weather, numbers fell sick, whose tents were an insufficient shelter; and the Indians, well acquainted with the climate, went off, declaring the season too far advanced to admit of an expedition upon the lake.

In the midst of these difficulties, another council, consisting of the same members who composed the last, was called on the 27th of September. The general acquainted them with the untoward state of affairs, and some of his latest advices. He observed as follows: That the preceding day, eight batteaux were arrived, with 48 barrels of flour, and 13 of bread; so that there was then 14 days full allowance of those species of provisions for 2000, being the number then in his camp: That he thought it necessary to take with him 21,000 weight of bread and flour, which, for 700 men, forty days, amounted only to three-fourths of the usual allowance: that, in such case, there would be left with the garrison only 8000 weight of bread and flour, at half allowance for only twelve days: but, by advices received from the Carrying-Place and Mohawk River, he had the greatest reason to expect such a quantity of provisions, in a few days, as would be a full supply for some months: that a party of men with two officers in whale-boats, sent seven days before to Frontenac, to discover the enemy's motions, were returned, with the following report: That they went into the harbour, and saw the fort, which appeared to be a regular square, faced with stone, having four embrasures in the front: that the encampment consisted of above 100 tents: that two brigantines of about 40 tons each, and a small sloop, lying then at anchor, were rigged and the sails of one of them bent; and a number of batteaux lay near the walls of the fort. He communicated to them also a copy of the orders and instructions given to the French regulars sent thither; which were taken from baron Dieskau, in the action at Lake George: whence it appeared, that ten companies of the Queen's battalion marched from Montreal to Cadaraqui, in two divisions, upon the first and

second of August, together with 250 Canadians, exclusive of Indians: the number of men therefore at Frontenac, including the garrison, might amount to 1000 effectives, originally designed, as appears from those papers, for an attack upon Oswego. He farther took notice of the departure of some of our Indians, and their unanimous opinion, that the attempt against Niagara could not succeed this season; on which account, the remainder were resolved to return to their respective castles; giving nevertheless the highest assurances of their willingness to join us in much greater numbers in the spring: that the Albany traders were of the same opinion; that the batteaux, though well adapted for the navigation of small rivers, could not live on the lake in such tempestuous weather as had continued for a fortnight past: that Lieut. Holland, who had resided there above three years, declared it was commonly windy and wet, with few fair days intervening, during the fall: That it was, besides, now impracticable for the vessels and batteaux to sail in concert: and as the vessels and whale-boats would not contain all the supplies, there was the utmost danger of spoiling that part of the provisions and ammunition, which must be conveyed in the batteaux; in consequence of which many of them might be cut off; it being more than probable, from the weakness of their fort, the enemy would attack them on the lake: That, from the returns of the director and surgeons of the hospital, the number of the sick amounted to about 300, exclusive of officers: which they imputed to the excessive rains, and want of barracks. His Excellency informed them, he proposed the erection of barracks, and a strong redoubt on the hill, west of the old fort, before the winter was too far advanced.

These matters, my Lord, were attentively considered: and the council of war prayed leave to add to the General's representation, That Major Bradstreet, since his residence there, was persuaded 1650 Canadians had passed by from Cadaraqui to Niagara, for the Ohio; a great part of whom, through scarcity of provisions, he conceived must then be upon their return to Canada; and that a considerable number of French traders go annually from Canada to Detroit, and other French settlements to the westward, who, at this season, are generally upon

their return: that their passage home is by the way of Niagara, where, it is very probable, they and all the French will tarry, as long as their provisions admit, for the defence of so important a post: That there were then but few proper batteau-men at Oswego; nor could they be provided with a sufficient number, as those who understood the management of batteaux were chiefly employed in the transportation of provisions from Schenectady to Oswego, and from Albany to Lake George; and that the soldiers were unable to conduct them to Niagara, the lake being turbulent generally five days in six.

The advice of the council, my Lord, was unanimously to this effect: That the arrival of the batteaux with provisions, though hourly expected, was by no means to be depended upon, there being scalping parties in the neighbourhood; one of which, since the last council of war, had actually killed three, and captivated two of the workmen employed in building the new fort on the east side of the river: and the cutting off the batteaux was the more to be apprehended, as the Indians in our alliance were now returning to their castles. Nor did they think it advisable to risk the troops in batteaux upon the lake, at so advanced a season of the year. They approved his Excellency's intention of raising barracks for the soldiers without delay; and thought the fort, on the east side of the Onondaga river, ought to be completed as soon as possible; and again advised the erection of a work for mounting cannon on the eminence west of the old fort: all which, in their opinion, could not be effected before the winter was too far set in, without employing the whole strength then at the place. They were also unanimously and clearly of opinion, that his Excellency ought to defer any attempt on Niagara or Frontenac, till the next spring; when they had great reason to expect the junction of a large body of the Six Nations, and some of the French allies, who had taken up the hatchet against the English, and were concerned on the banks of the Monongahela. Besides, he might, in the ensuing campaign, have a greater number of troops, whale-boats instead of batteaux, and a more powerful naval force, which they conceived ought to be provided against the next spring.

This advice, my Lord, the General proceeded imme-

diately to carry into execution. Completing the fort on the east side of the river was a matter of principal attention, because situated on a high point of land, at 100 yards distance from the lake, commanding the ground round about it; the old fort at 450 yards distance, and the entrance of the harbour. Its circumference was 800 feet, being built of logs from 20 to 30 inches diameter, and the outer wall fourteen feet high. Round it was to be a ditch fourteen feet broad and ten deep. Within, a square log-house to overlook the walls, and barracks for 300 men. This fort, called Ontario, was to mount sixteen pieces of cannon. Another, called Oswego, was immediately begun, upon an eminence 450 yards west of the old fort. It was a square of 170 feet, with bastions, and a rampart of earth and masonry; which, besides the parapet, was to be twenty feet thick, twelve in height, with a ditch fourteen feet broad and ten deep. The barracks within were to contain 200 men. This was to mount eight pieces of cannon; being made the more defensible, as it commanded a good landing, distant 150 yards on the edge from the lake.

While these works were carrying on, the General employed himself in a necessary attention to Indian affairs. He laboured to establish some of the principal Onondagas, who were, through negligence, become wavering; and despatched messages to those who were gone from us, and settled at Oswagatchie, and to the Messasagues and Chippawees on the north side of the lake Ontario. Others were sent to foment the disaffection of the Outawawas, disgusted at the French partition of the plunder, on Braddock's defeat. With the Senecas, the remotest from our settlements of all the five cantons, and therefore the most debauched by the French; he succeeded so well, that they now dismissed Joncaire, one of their emissaries, whose father had been long suffered to reside among them, in spite of our repeated remonstrances, and was the chief preserver of the fort at Niagara. They also engaged to meet him, the next campaign, with 100 of their warriors, and promised for the future, to refuse the assistance they had formerly given the French, in transporting their furs, with horses and sleds, across the Niagara Carrying-Place; as necessary there, as at any

of our portages between Schenectady and Oswego. When nothing further could be prosecuted, the General retired from Oswego the 24th of October, leaving 700 men in garrison, under the command of Lieut. Col. Mercer, with orders to continue the works projected for its defence.

Having, my Lord, taken up too much of your time in a circumstantial relation of the proceeding in this quarter, I shall not trouble you with any reflections upon them. Your Lordship has seen the insurmountable difficulties attending this western expedition; and will doubtless approve our not hazarding the loss of Oswego. That such would have been the event, had Mr. Shirley left the place about the beginning of October, was wisely foreseen, from the advices he had received; and Baron Dieskau, just after the action at Lake George, assured a gentleman of distinction in the army, he questioned not the English General would make himself master of Niagara; but that the French had half the forces he brought with him from Brest, with a number of Canadians and Indians, at Frontenac, ready, immediately on his departure, to invest Oswego, and cut off his retreat.

While the General was at Albany, after his return from the Lake, forwarding the supplies for the garrison at Oswego, preparing for the operations of the next campaign, and examining into the state of the troops arrived there under Col. Dunbar, the city was alarmed by expresses from General Johnson, informing, that 8 or 9000 of the enemy were advancing towards him. Sir Charles Hardy, then at Albany, called in the militia; and a detachment of the regular troops, with a train of artillery, held themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning. But another express gave reason to believe those apprehensions were ill-grounded, and General Johnson's fears, in some measure, abated. It seems a few Indian scouts had discovered the tracks of a large army; but Capt. Rogers, the brave officer before-mentioned, came into the camp soon after them, and declared, the enemy were employed, as the General had predicted in his letter to Mr. Johnson of the 19th of September, in throwing up works at Ticonderoga. Upon which, the militia were dismissed to their respective habitations.

Of the malignity of the New-York faction against the General, I have already acquainted your Lordship: permit me to present you with another instance of the same spirit. A mercenary scribbler, of whom I shall soon take more particular notice, is pleased to inform the public, that "Col. Dunbar, with his forces, were obliged six "weeks to lie encamped at Albany, in the rain and snow, "till barracks were built for them: that they were entire-"ly obliged to Sir Charles Hardy, that they got a stick "of wood to burn. So (says he) were our forces dispos-"ed of."

Albany, my Lord, is an old, compact city, consisting of 3 or 400 well built houses; and at about 16 miles N. W. from it, is the town of Schenectady, consisting of about 150 houses. The inhabitants are far from being indigent: the adjacent country abounds with provisions; and in such quarters, your Lordship is sensible, his Majesty's troops will not want necessaries, especially *fuel*, in a country covered with timber. Where then the probability, that the forces, which consisted of 1200, would suffer in a post like this? As to the affair of barracks, my Lord, there was a council held at New-York, on the first of August, when the news arrived of Col. Dunbar's retiring into winter quarters, after Braddock's defeat. It was composed of Mr. De Lancey, the Lieutenant-Governor, Messrs. Alexander, Kennedy, Murray, Holland, Chambers, and Smith; and the opinion of that board then was, "That not only the King's forces to the south-"ward, but also those that could be spared from Nova-"Scotia, should quarter near Albany, for any future ope-"rations." This resolve, Mr. De Lancey, transmitted to the General at Oswego; and as Dunbar's troops were ordered to Albany, for the defence of that country, and particularly to make a stand, in case the provincials were defeated, they had, methinks, the highest reason to expect favour from the inhabitants, and the special countenance of the government, even had they been quartered upon them as usual: and which, at present, is actually the case, by express orders of my Lord Loudon. The General, I say, had no reason to expect, upon this head, any opposition from the civil magistrate. But Sir Charles Hardy, on his arrival at Albany, about the 26th of Sep-

tember, signified to him by letter, his apprehensions of uneasiness arising among the inhabitants, should the soldiers be quartered upon private families; and wished to have his Excellency's orders for building barracks, both there and at Schenectady, lest his assembly should not choose to putthe province to that charge. He also expressed his hopes, if such an expense was saved them, of their greater readiness to raise more men, should the service require it, the next campaign. The General's answer to this letter equally demonstrated his integrity to the crown, and concern for the troops. He intimated his fears, that the construction of barracks would be thought an extraordinary expense; but it being necessary for the service, that Dunbar's and the regiment of the late Sir Peter Halket, should winter in Albany and Schenectady, he complied with Sir Charles's request; and desired him to provide barracks for those regiments with all possible diligence, that the troops, on their arrival in his government, might not find themselves destitute of quarters. To relieve the crown in the expense, he farther took notice to Sir Charles, of the request made by his own government for drawing these troops to Albany; that they would in a special manner cover the frontier of New-York, be of service to Oswego in the ensuing spring, and that the inhabitants would draw very large sums from their residence amongst them. Nor did he forget to recommend an imitation of the Massachusetts-Bay, who thought it reasonable to erect barracks for his own regiment, though they knew their continuance among them would be short, destined as they were for the western expedition. But that there might be no delay in building the barracks, arising from any doubt of the expense being paid by the province of New-York, Mr. Shirley informed Sir Charles, that if they would not after these considerations, take that expense on themselves, he would defray it out of the contingent money in the hands of the deputy paymaster. Thus, my Lord, if any ground for complaint of the want of barracks, Mr. Shirley it is clear, was entirely uncensurable: and if the troops, as this libeller informs us, did suffer in their tents, I submit it to your Lordship, whose province it was to have found them better quarters. But the fact is, that the barracks were finished, and the troops

quartered in them before the first of December, fuel provided for them sufficient for the winter, and all at the expense of the crown.

The winter now approaching, commissioners were appointed, by the governments concerned in the Crown-Point expedition, to ascertain their respective quotas for garrisoning the forts Edward and William-Henry, and disbanding the rest of the army. After this was completed, the General and Sir Charles Hardy returned to New-York, where the former convened a grand congress of governors and field officers, to deliberate on a plan for the operations of the succeeding campaign. But before I enter upon their transactions, I shall briefly lay before your Lordship those between Sir Charles Hardy and his assembly, which was opened on the 2d, and continued sitting till the 23d of December.

I have already observed, that the ministry, from the time of Mr. Clinton's departure in 1753, had been solicitous about procuring the consent of our assembly to a law, establishing a permanent provision for the Governor, and other necessary officers. When Sir Danvers Osborne arrived, he brought with him an instruction for that purpose; from the terms of which it was apparent that the ministry had it much at heart; and Sir Danvers, before he left England, was made to believe that Mr. De Lancey, by means of his great popularity, would enable him to carry it into execution. This I had from a gentleman, to whom Sir Danvers opened himself, and whom he consulted before his embarkation for his government. The gentleman is a person of the first figure in these colonies; and being acquainted with the system of politics in New-York, he informed Sir Danvers, that those promises were by no means to be depended upon: that Mr. De Lancey was inexpressibly jealous of his ascendency over the assembly, who were utterly disinclined to a perpetual support: that he would join in no measures that might weaken the confidence they reposed in him: that as long as he maintained his influence in their counsels, he would virtually be the governor of the province; and therefore, upon the whole, his interest and ambition would infallibly lead him to keep every Governor in a state of dependence upon him. Sir Danvers disliked so disagreeable a prediction; and many are

of opinion, that its accomplishment hastened his unhappy fate. Excuse me, my Lord, for troubling you with a relation of facts, a little out of the strict order of time. There is an anecdote of Sir Danvers, of which I would not have your Lordship uninformed. He arrived here on the 7th of October, 1753, under very discouraging apprehensions of the people; and indeed not without reason, the opposition against Mr. Clinton having been carried beyond all decorum. Governor Osborne's commission, through Mr. Clinton's absence, remained unpublished till the third day after his arrival. This is usually done first privately, in the council-chamber; and immediately after, in the most public manner at the city-hall. To wait on his Excellency thither, Mr. Clinton came abroad; an astonishing crowd being assembled at the Fort Gate, to attend the procession. Mr. Clinton's enemies were very assiduous in exciting the popular acclamations; and the huzzas of the mob were scarce intermitted for a moment. There appeared, in short, such a profusion of joy, accompanied with some indecent expressions respecting himself, as gave Mr. Clinton just reason to suspect more open indignities. He therefore soon took his leave of Sir Danvers, who expressed his displeasure at the conduct of his enemies. This, my Lord, proved a day of general festivity and Bacchanalian frolic. In the evening, the city was illuminated: the common blazed with bonfires: great was the consumption of Maderia; and every company rung with maledictions against the late commander in chief, who was charged as the sole procurer of the new instruction; an account of which could only have transpired from some of the council. Sir Danvers alone appeared unaffected with our intemperate revels; and on his countenance sat a melancholy gloom. He convened the council on Thursday the 11th of the month; and prayed their sentiments on the probability of obtaining a permanent support, according to his instructions. That the point was unattainable, they all delivered as their unanimous opinion. He then required the solution of the same question from each member severally; and still from each received the same reply. Upon this, he turned himself about in apparent distress, uttered a deep sigh, and reclining his head against a window, in a desponding ac-

cent, said, "What then am I come hither for?" The next morning——But I desist. This instruction, as your Lordship will be pleased to recollect, remained unrevoked all the time of his successor: and it is natural to expect, that the people of this province were very inquisitive whether it was continued to Governor Hardy. They were so. But Sir Charles did not follow the example of Mr. De Lancey, in laying his instructions before the assembly. The article, relative to the support, has undergone, I am credibly informed, very few alterations, and those only in the preamble. That it was in substance the same, is evident from his speech to the house, on the 3d of December, at the opening of that session. His words are these: "I am commanded by his Majesty to "recommend, in his name, without delay, to consider of "a proper law to be passed, for settling a permanent rev- "enue, upon a solid foundation, for defraying the neces- "sary and established charges of government; taking "care that such law be indefinite, without limitation of "time; and that provision be made therein for a compe- "tent salary to the Captain-General and Governor in "Chief of this his Majesty's province; and likewise for "competent salaries to all judges, justices, and other ne- "cessary and usual officers and ministers of government: "and also for a certain permanent fund, for repairing "and maintaining the fortifications, for making annual "presents to the Indians, and for the other contingent "expenses attending that service: and, in general, for "all such other charges of government, as may be fixed "or ascertained." The assembly, in their address, after a justly-merited compliment, for his activity in proceeding to Albany, and their approbation of the measures for garrisoning the frontiers, subjoin this emollient paragraph: "We wish we could, with equal satisfaction, re- "concile to ourselves your Excellency's recommendation "of an indefinite support: but humbly beg leave to in- "form your Excellency, that we have no permanent funds, "on which to establish such a revenue; nor do any oc- "cur to us, without very apparent inconveniences to our "constituents. We therefore most humbly hope we shall "stand acquitted in the eyes of our most gracious Sove- "reign, if we decline a measure so directly opposite to the

"sentiments of almost every individual of the colony. We "cannot leave this subject, without disclosing to your "Excellency the concern it gives us, that this his Ma- "jesty's loyal colony, which, though small in numbers, "has cheerfully bore very heavy expenses, and particu- "larly supported its Governors, and other officers of gov- "ernment, in a more liberal manner than most others on "the continent, should be requested to pursue measures "hitherto unknown to it, whilst the rest, almost without "exception, are left to practise the very measures de- "nied to us."

Mr. Clinton, my Lord, asked of this same assembly only a support for five years, and it was refused with indignation and virulence. Sir Charles here demands much more; and we see, that he is answered with the most commendable decency. To help your Lordship in accounting for this contradictory behaviour, Mr. De Lancey was bent upon expelling that Governor from the province: and to gain his point, continually fomented the quarrel he himself excited. But Sir Charles was to be treated in a different manner, and measures more lenient were to be pursued. An ascendency over him would ensure to his lieutenant many advantages, and enable him to procure the governor's assent to a bill, for paying him a large sum, now due for his salary and other perquisites, while he had the chief command. He might indeed, but durst not pass such a bill himself, and therefore it was not offered. Accordingly, the house, at their very next meeting, sent up a bill to the council, on the 4th of February, 1756, for paying the debts of the government; in which he was a creditor for near 4000*l*. But of this I shall have occasion to take more particular notice. Thus, my Lord, I will forfeit my honour, if, upon a faithful perusal of the journals of assembly, your Lordship doth not find the conduct of the house, and the interest of Mr. De Lancey, for ten or fifteen years past, perfectly to tally.

Let us now take a view of the transactions in the grand council of war, which the General had convened at New-York, for settling a plan of the future operations. It was opened on the 12th of December, 1755, and continued sitting for the space of two days. Though the invitation to the governors was universal, it consisted only of these members:

His Excellency General Shirley, commander in chief of all his Majesty's forces in North America:

His Excellency Sir Charles Hardy, Knight, governor and commander in chief of the province of New-York:

The Honourable Horatio Sharpe, lieutenant governor and commander in chief of the province of Maryland:

The Honourable Robert Hunter Morris, lieutenant governor and commander in chief of the province of Pennsylvania:

The Honourable Thomas Fitch, governor and commander in chief of the colony of Connecticut:

Colonel Thomas Dunbar:

Colonel Peter Schuyler:

Major Charles Craven:

Sir John St. Clair, deputy quarter-master general:

Major John Rutherford.

After adjusting several points of rank, the members took their seats in the order mentioned; and the General opened the conference, by laying before the council the King's instructions to General Braddock. He then delivered his sentiments to the board, to the following purpose: "That our only entrance into Lake Ontario was through "the Onondaga River to Oswego. No other harbour "had his Majesty, upon that Lake, capable of receiving "vessels of force: That Oswego was situate in the coun- "try of the Onondagas, the centre canton of the Six Na- "tions, and famous for the fur trade: no other mart "could we boast, for commerce or correspondence with "those numerous tribes of savages inhabiting the western "country, on the banks of the great lakes Erie, Huron, "Michigan, and the many rivers which roll into them: "That the Lake Ontario was only accessible to the Ca- "nadians through the river Cadaraqui, formerly called "by the French Fleuve Iroquois; but in their late maps, "calculated to countenance their exorbitant claims, dis- "tinguished by the name of St. Lawrence. At the head "of that river was their entrance into that lake, and near "Fort Frontenac, situated on its north-eastern edge, "about fifty miles from, and nearly opposite to, our fort "at Oswego: That while the enemy kept possession of "Frontenac, with the harbour at Fronto, and a free pas- "sage through the Iroquois River, they would always be "able to build and maintain vessels of force upon the

"lake: That his Majesty would therefore be necessitated "to support a naval armament there, at least equal to "that of the French. Without this, they might annoy "any forts we could erect at the north-east end of the "pass at Niagara; and Oswego itself be lost. The in- "evitable consequence of which would be, the defection "of the Six Nations, the loss of the whole country, for "near 300 miles, from Oswego to Schenectady, and per- "haps the reduction of Albany itself." The General added, "That all the French forts at Niagara, upon the "lake Erie, and the river Ohio, those also upon lake "Huron, at the Streights of Michilimackinac, and the "Lake Michigan, still more westerly, received all their "supplies by water-carriage from Montreal, through the "River Iroquois, and the Lake Ontario: That the French "settlements at the mouth of the Mississippi furnished "these northern garrisons neither with provisions nor "stores, being not only at 2000 miles distance from any "of them, but embarrassed with insuperable difficulties, "by a laborious navigation against a rapid stream." Hence his Excellency concluded, "That could the "French be dislodged from Frontenac, and the little fort "at Fronto, and their entrance into Lake Ontario ob- "structed, all their other forts and settlements on the "Ohio, and the western lakes, were deprived of their "support from Canada, and must ere long be evacuated."

Impressed, my Lord, with these views, the General proposed, as a plan of operations for the next year, That 5000 men should be very early assembled at Oswego, and 4000 of them sent to attack Frontenac and La Gallette; which being reduced, an attempt should be made upon the forts at Niagara, Presque Isle, Riviere au Beuf, Detroit, and Michilimakinac: and that, in the mean time, 3000 provincial troops should march from Will's Creek, for the reduction of Fort Du Quesne: That a body of 10,000 should proceed to Crown-Point, build a fort there, and launch one or more vessels into lake Champlain: And, that the force of Canada might be farther divided, he proposed, that 2000 men should carry fire and sword up Kennebec River, fall upon the settlements adjoining to the river Chaudiere, and proceed to its mouth, three miles distant from Quebec; and by dividing themselves in small parties along the banks of the River St. Law-

rence, and destroying the scattered settlements there, keep that part of Canada in continued alarms.

He then observed, that if the several attempts upon Crown-Point, the forts upon the Lakes, and the Ohio, were not prosecuted at the same time, very perilous might be the consequences: That if, in particular, while Frontenac and Niagara were attacked, no attempt was made against Crown-Point, the whole force of Canada would march to oppose us; which would defeat the design, and require so large a body of troops, as to render the transportation of necessaries to Oswego impracticable. So numerous an army might also march against Albany, as effectually to cut off the retreat of our forces, or at least totally obstruct their supplies: That should, on the contrary, our whole strength be destined for Crown-Point, and the western operations neglected, Oswego, the grand object of the French, was in the utmost danger of falling into their hands. A loss irreparable, and beyond estimation; the loss of the whole country down to Albany, with that of the Six confederate Nations; and to the French, the acquisition of an absolute dominion on the lakes, and the whole southern country.

His Excellency finished with informing the council of his late intelligence: That the French were building three large vessels, of superior force to ours, in the harbour of Frontenac: and upon the whole, prayed their advice.

A plan, so well digested, and so clearly stated, required but little consideration; and accordingly it was in the main unanimously approved. The council advised the General to give orders for building three or more vessels at Oswego. They were of opinion, that 10,000 men were necessary for the Crown-Point expedition, and 6000 for that on Lake Ontario. The attempt against Fort Du Quesne, by the western governments, it was thought, would answer very good purposes, especially in securing the fidelity of the western Indians. The feint against Quebec was approved, if it interfered not with the other expeditions. The operations on Lake Ontario, they conceived, ought to begin with the attack on Frontenac: and, upon the whole, were of opinion, that an additional number of regular troops would be necessary

for effectually recovering and securing his Majesty's rights and dominions on the continent.

The council having finished their business, the Governors soon after returned to their respective provinces. But the General continued his head-quarters at New-York till the 21st of January, to prosecute an expedition against Ticonderoga, this winter: and as the French garrison was left very weak, it had doubtless succeeded, had not the want of frost and snow prevented the transportation of the stores. Before he left New-York, he had a fresh instance of the unwearied and ill-natured industry of his opposers; of which, because important in its consequences, I shall give your Lordship an ample detail. The principal agents were Messrs. De Lancey and Pownal, who now formed a kind of duumvirate, to perplex the service, in order to ruin the General. Without question, my Lord, you are as much surprised, after what has already been said concerning these gentlemen, to find Mr. Pownal among the General's enemies, as you would have been had I told you that Mr. De Lancey was not. I am sensible, that a person of your Lordship's high sense of honour will recollect Mr. Shirley's favours to him at Boston; and think it incredible to find him in the catalogue of those combined against his benefactor. But it is a shining remark of Tacitus,* "That benefits are "only so far acceptable, as it seems possible to discharge "them; and that when they have exceeded all retaliation, "hatred is returned for gratitude." Mr. Pownal, who was ambitious of recommending himself to a certain noble Lord in England, by furnishing him with American intelligence, could by no means brook his being absent from the congress at Alexandria, in the spring of the present year. He earnestly sought an introduction to Gen. Braddock; and Mr. Shirley did the office with great politeness. He was then just informed of his appointment to be Lieut. Governor of New-Jersey, and on that account pressed for an admission into the council. Mr. Shirley, in a very genteel manner, declined a task, which might give offence to the General; and if any resolution transpired, draw himself into a snare. But Mr. Pownal,

* Beneficia eo usque læta sunt, dum videntur exsolvi posse: ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur.

being a stranger to that diffidence and modesty so suitable to his years and inexperience, became, from this moment, disgusted, and was seldom after seen amongst that gentleman's friends. He tarried at Philadelphia, till General Braddock's defeat; and towards autumn returned to New-York. This change of temper recommended him to Mr. De Lancey, who failed not to exasperate the rising resentment: and now his opposition became open and unreserved. Just at this juncture, arrived Sir Charles Hardy; and Mr. Shirley being then at Oswego, your Lordship sees how seasonable their opportunity for sowing the seeds of prejudice in the breast of the new Governor. I will not take upon me to speak of their success; but doubtless no misrepresentations were wanting to strengthen the cabal. Yet no sooner did the General arrive from Oswego at Albany, where Messrs. Pownal and De Lancey attended upon Sir Charles, than the former, dissembling his enmity, laboured to procure his confidence, that he might pry into his secrets: but from previous intimations of his present disposition, in a letter to a gentleman then near the General, he failed in that insidious design. He could now no longer suppress his malevolence, or conceal his recent connexions; and therefore openly traduced the very man, to whom he was indebted for all his significancy amongst the provinces. My Lord, it is with reluctance I utter these things. But your Lordship is as determined to know every transaction, which concerns the operations in America, as I am to discharge the office of a faithful historian. Truth is too sacred to be violated, either out of fear or favour; and whatever your Lordship may think of this gentleman, such was his conduct. I knew him an avowed enemy to Mr. De Lancey, and to Mr. Shirley as sanguine a friend. I have since known him to calumniate the latter, and applaud the former. With a change of residence, or rather interest, he changes sides; and, on this account, no man perhaps ever multiplied so many adversaries in so short a time. He aims at two governments, without the least prospect of peace, if either of them should fall under his command. I can assure your Lordship, that even in the province of New-Jersey he is so little esteemed, and that principally for intriguing the

disbandment of the regiment under Col. Schuyler, to disoblige Mr. Shirley, that upon his return to England in February, in 1756, he was unable to procure a vote of assembly, desiring his assistance of their agent at the Court of Great-Britain, though he pushed it with an earnestness that would have cost most men a blush of confusion.

Determined to embarrass the General, nothing could have been more agreeable to Mr. Pownal, and the Lieut. Governor of New-York, than an admission into the late council of war. To a seat at that board, neither of them had the least pretension; and yet both were highly displeased at not being invited. Mr. Pownal, who has often distinguished himself for pushing a bold point, repaired to New-Jersey, and importuned Governor Belcher, unable, on account of his age, to attend the congress in person, to depute him in his stead. His Excellency very wisely answered, that the invitation he had received from the General, was merely a personal compliment: nor could he, with the least decency, insist upon an appearance by proxy. His Lieutenant, impatient of a denial, called, in a menacing tone, for pen, ink, and paper, thinking to operate on the infirmities of age by commination and outrage. The council were astonished at this indecent attack upon an ancient and faithful servant of the Crown, and withheld their advice. But the Governor, conscious of the propriety of his refusal, firmly adhered to his first resolution; and Mr. Pownal, abruptly quitting the board, returned with disappointment to New-York.

This gentleman, my Lord, became acquainted at Philadelphia with one Evans, who, for a valuable* considera-

* Among other gentlemen of distinction in the colonies, Mr. Pownal became acquainted with Mr. Alexander, of New-York, a person of friendly disposition and easy access. Mr. Alexander had now the Surveyor-General's office of New-Jersey: and Mr. Pownal, to procure the fulsome dedication from Evans, promised him that office, upon his accession to the government. This, Evans frequently declared in his illness to one of his most intimate friends, who concealed it till after his death. Such an anecdote will scarcely be credited by those unacquainted with Mr. Pownal's insatiable ambition to rise in America. There was another instance of his conduct equally surprising. While this gentleman was at New-York, discharging his embassy from Boston, in the spring, 1755, he had the loan of a map of the country from Crown-Point to Montreal, which was composed by William Alexander, Esq. a gentleman well skilled in the geography of America

tion, dedicated to him his map of the middle British colonies, with an encomium, that he esteemed him *the best judge of it in America*. This man having, in the public streets of Philadelphia, not only presumed to accuse Governor Morris of high treason, but to asperse two of his Majesty's ministers as pensioners to France, fled from justice there, and took sanctuary in New-York. Mr. Morris, however, commenced an action against him in this province, more for his own vindication, than a reparation of damages, which the poor fellow would never have been able to make. Upon this, he was committed to gaol, till Mr. Oliver De Lancey so far befriended him, as to become his security. These were his circumstances, when he published a pamphlet full of invectives against Gen. Shirley. I will not affirm, that he wrote it at the instance of the cabal in New-York. I leave your Lordship to judge how far they were concerned in it, after adding, that it contained their repeated remarks; that Mr. Pownal was frequently at his lodgings about the time of its publication; and did actually accompany him to a printer, to hasten the impression, before he sailed for England.* I shall not trouble your Lordship with any particular observations upon this libel. If ever it should fall into your Lordship's hands, this letter will assist you in detecting its falsehoods, and forming a proper judgment both of its author and his abettors.

Thus, my Lord, was every opportunity embraced, by the cabal, to prejudice the General in the opinion of the people; and happy for the colonies, had their misrepre-

Mr. Pownal, who had occasion to lay this chart before the assembly of New-York, having erased the name of its author, very modestly inserted his own. And though his plagiarism was detected at the time, he neglected to return it, and afterwards produced the same map before the ministry, claiming to himself the honour due to Mr. Alexander alone.

* Upon the news of the loss of Oswego, part of it was republished in the New-York Gazette, to lead the populace to impute this calamity to General Shirley. It was appealed to, as an undisputable authority, by the very persons to whom poor Evans was indebted for his materials; and without whose dictating, it would never have seen the light. To write a book in another's name, and then to quote it as an authority, is a species of proof, with which Euclid appears to have been utterly unacquainted.

sentations been confined to this side the Atlantic. Bent on Mr. Shirley's removal, all imaginable pains were taken to defame his character. Here, they questioned his integrity: but in England, they endeavoured to create a suspicion of his judgment. General Johnson was set up as his competitor; and to his renown were blown all the trumpets of fame. Shirley's deep sense of the importance of Oswego was made the object of buffoonery and ridicule. The reduction of Crown-Point represented as a matter of superior moment. Three hundred men, Mr. De Lancey often declared to be a sufficient garrison for Oswego. The General was therefore charged with squandering the king's money, in making it the main object of his attention: and out of mere opposition, a scheme was recommended for turning our whole force toward Crown-Point. Upon this errand, my Lord, Mr. Pownal went home in February, 1756. I need not inform your Lordship of the success of the faction. The sequel will shew with what consequences it was attended. Thus ended the year 1755. A year never to be forgotten in America. It opened with the fairest prospects to these distant dispersions of the British empire. Four armies were on foot, to remove the encroachments of a perfidious neighbour; and our coasts honoured with a fleet for their security, under the command of the brave and vigilant Boscawen. We had every thing to expect; nothing to fear. The enemy was despised; and we only desired a proclamation of war, for the final destruction of the whole country of New-France. But, my Lord, how unlooked-for was the event! General Winslow, indeed, succeeded in Nova-Scotia; but Braddock was defeated: Niagara and Crown-Point remained unreduced: the barbarians were let loose from the wilderness: many thousand farms abandoned: the King's subjects inhumanly butchered, or reduced to beggary: one of the provinces* rent by intestine broils: in another, a potent faction laying the foundation for new disasters in the course of the ensuing year.

The New-England colonies, my Lord, take the lead in all military matters. Your Lordship is too well acquainted with history, not to know, they chiefly owed

* Pennsylvania.

their origin to the disputes which involved the nation in all the calamities of a civil war. The first planters encountered innumerable difficulties, and were long engaged in repeated wars with the Indian natives. Their descendants retain the martial prowess and spirit of their ancestors; and for wisdom, loyalty, and an enterprising genius, are a people of renown. In these governments lies the main strength of the British interest upon this continent. Besides their above advantageous character, they are very considerable for their numbers. The Massachusetts-Bay contains about 40,000 capable of arms. The militia of Connecticut is about 27,000. Rhode-Island and New-Hampshire are not so populous. His majesty's service, therefore, rendered it necessary for the General, according to the plan of operations, to visit his own government, in order to solicit the succours, without which the expedition proposed against Crown-Point must inevitably have failed. For this purpose he set out for New-York on the 21st of January; and, but for his presence and solicitations at Boston, no provincial troops would this year have entered the field. That colony was so extremely disobliged at the conduct of General Johnson, in neglecting to pursue his advantages, after the memorable rout of the French at Lake George, as to be in general averse to a new campaign: and with the utmost difficulty did the general procure their concurrence in another expensive attempt. There let us at present leave him, promoting the public service of the colonies: and returning again to New-York, suffer me, at this inactive season of the year, to entertain your Lordship with one or two instances of Lieut. Governor De Lancey's more private political feats.

Never was any man more impolitic than Governor Clinton. Had he kept the chief justice dependent on his favour, he would have governed his province with ease and tranquillity: but by granting him a new commission for his office, *during good behaviour*, he set him at liberty to act at pleasure: and in consequence of this fatal error, the province was thrown into violent convulsions. Nothing, therefore, my Lord, could be more desirable to his successor, than to hold that gentleman under proper restraint. Sir Charles Hardy had this advantage:

his office of chief justice, I am informed, became extinguished the moment the government devolved upon him by the death of Sir Danvers Osborn. From the time of Sir Charles Hardy's arrival, Mr. De Lancey had impatiently expected a new commission: but the governor neglecting the offer, to the astonishment of most in the province, he, notwithstanding, ventured to resume his seat on the bench in January term, when two felons were arraigned before him. This bold stroke at the prerogative, most men imagined, would have drawn down the resentment of the new governor: and why it was passed by without observation, I must leave to your Lordship's conjectures. That De Lancey had, in reality, no right to the exercise of that office, has been strongly insisted upon by gentlemen of the law, though in an extrajudicial manner. I pretend not myself to any knowledge in that intricate science; but beg leave to present your Lordship with an opinion, relating to the point, contained in the following letter from a gentleman of the profession to his friend in this city; with a copy of which I have been favoured.

"SIR, "*Philadelphia*, 21 *Oct.*, 1755.

"YOU say you are informed, that your Lieut. Gov-
"ernor designs to exercise his former office, in virtue of
"the commission issued by your late Governor Clinton.
"I cannot think your information well grounded, because
"I am clearly of opinion, that office was extinguished by
"his acceptance of the Lieut. Governor's commission:
"and I conceive Mr. De Lancey will hardly venture to
"dispute the matter with the crown. The main reason
"I go upon is, that those two offices are incompatible.
"To make this plain to you, you must understand, that
"to every office there are duties annexed. The same
"person cannot exercise two offices inconsistent with one
"another. One of them must therefore be lost; because,
"as every office is *pro bono publico*, its use lies in the ex-
"ercise of it: and the inferior office is that which is lost,
"because it is most for the public good, that the officer
"should hold the superior office, as the law presumes every
"man capable of the office which the King, who is the
"fountain of offices and honour, is pleased to confer upon
"him. Agreeable to this, we find many resolutions in

"our books: I'll mention one or two. A man cannot "be forester and judge *eo instanti*. Rolls Rep. 452, &c. "Nor judge of the Com. and King's bench *simul & semel*. "Dyer's Case, 4 and 5 Phil. and Mar. The first patent "*is determined*, though the second was granted *pro illa* "*vice*, and surrendered the next day. Br. N. C. 5 Mar. "Br. Commissions pl. 25.

"Nothing now remains but to shew, that the office of "chief justice and governor of your province are incon- "sistent. To explain this, I must inform you, that your "supreme court is a court of general jurisdiction, estab- "lished by an ordinance of governor and council; claim- "ing the like power here in all pleas, civil and criminal, "as fully as they are taken cognizance of by the King's "Bench and Common Pleas in England. Superior to "this, is the Court of Governor and Council, a court "instituted by one of his Majesty's instructions to your "governor. In virtue of this instruction, writs of error "are returned from the supreme court, before the gover- "nor and council. The inconsistency, then, of the two "offices becomes very apparent. By the instruction, the "governor in the court above is a *sine quo non;* and to "suppose him at the same time judge in the court below, "and must disregard the absurdity of the governor's send- "ing a writ to command himself; and of his justifying "his judgment as chief justice to himself in council as "governor; and yet be excluded from a voice in the "judgment above; which, nevertheless, cannot be given "without him. You see then the incompatibility is much "stronger, that if a man should be judge both of the "King's and Common Bench in England. There the "other judges of B. R. might correct the error in the "Common Pleas; but here the course of public justice "might be entirely stopped.

"If it should be said, his power was only suspended, "while in the chair of government; I answer with the "observation before, that an office is a *duty*, as the very "word itself implies: and I know of no sleeping and not- "to-be-exercised office. Every office is instituted for "the public good: the officer is therefore obliged to ex- "ercise his duty; for, without that, he cannot serve the "public: and to be *obliged to act*, and at the same time

"*obliged not to act*, is nonsense. It would be more spe-
"cious to say, the instruction is no law, as your assem-
"blies have often said in other cases; but then, Sir, Mr.
"De Lancey, in obedience to it, has declined acting as
"judge ever since the death of Sir Danvers Osborn: and
"why has he (as I have been informed) rejected a writ
"of error, because, according to this very instruction, the
"damages in demand did not exceed 300*l.* sterling? Be-
"sides, this court of Governor and Council, I am told,
"has long exercised its power, under this and former in-
"structions to your governors of the like tenor, without
"the least opposition.

"The offices will further appear to be inconsistent, if
"you reflect, that as governor he is also chancellor. The
"Court of Chancery often restrains the power of the law
"courts: and it is the spirit of every court to enlarge its
"own jurisdiction. Upon both these accounts, the two
"offices must inevitably clash. I know that Knevet was
"formerly chief justice and chancellor: but the propriety
"of that double investiture was never solemnly consider-
"ed. It was long ago, in the time of Edward III. There
"has been no instance of the like in later times; nor do
"I believe it would be suffered. But the case is much
"stronger here; and I cannot conceive, for the reasons
"above, that your lieutenant governor will attempt to sit
"as judge by virtue of his old commission. It is more
"probable he will prevail on your governor, lately arriv-
"ed, to grant him a new patent. "I am," &c.

Perhaps, my Lord, no higher evidence can be assigned of a man's influence, than such a bold invasion of his Majesty's prerogative. Mr. De Lancey was determined not to lose an office, which he knew to be the grand source of his popularity, and the main prop of his power: for, whoever is chief justice of the province, unless a very novice, must be the second man in the government. Governor Hardy made no opposition to this large stride of ambition: and the other, not long after, by his wonderful artifice, subjected him to his absolute dominion. It was effected in the following manner: Your Lordship will be pleased to recollect, that Mr. De Lancey had the address to prevail upon the assembly to send up a bill to

the council on the 4th of February, intituled, "*An act for the Payment of the Debts due from this Colony; and other purposes therein mentioned.*" By this, payments were to be made to many creditors of the government, *for services done this colony*, without specifying what those services were. The Lieut. Governor was to receive 3787*l.* 16*s.* and several other sums were payable to his brother. It was in reality a bill for discharging the arrears due to the ordinary officers of the government. To render it the more palatable to the Governor, provision was made for paying him also large sums for presents to the Indians, and the expenses of his voyage to Albany, after the French repulse at Lake George. When it came up to the council, it obtained a majority only by one voice: and of these, my Lord, two gentlemen, besides Lieut. Gov. De Lancey, were themselves interested in the bill. They were the puisne judges of the Supreme Court, Messrs. Horsemanden and Chambers, whose arrears of salary were now by the act to be discharged. Messrs. Colden, Alexander, and Smith looked upon it as a mean invasion of the King's instructions, which, until they resigned their seats at the council board, they were bound in honour to regard with sacred punctuality. It was, besides, evidently partial; no provision being made for other creditors, whose demands were indisputable. They also conceived it derogatory to the dignity of that board to pass an act, excluding themselves from any knowledge of those services, for which the respective sums were made payable. For these reasons, among others, they opposed the bill; and prayed their dissent might be entered, as a vindication of themselves to his Majesty. The Governor, to whom it was sent up, detained it for farther consideration, though he passed several other bills on the 19th of the month. This circumstance, my Lord, could not but chagrin his Lieutenant, who had the bill much at heart, not only on account of the large sums thereby payable to himself and brother, but because the passing it into a law would be the fullest evidence of his ascendency over the Governor; and if he could bring him into disgrace with the ministry, by leading him into a breach of instructions, it was plain he would have nothing to rely upon, but his own popularity. This was an important card, and to be skilfully

played off. So indeed it was: and when I finish the story, I am persuaded your Lordship will entertain no very mean opinion of American politicians. The spring was now advancing; and it became necessary to pass a law for levying forces, not only to join the eastern colonies, on a new expedition against the French fortress at Crown-Point, but for the protection of our western frontiers, in conjunction with Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, which were become fields of blood, by the daily ravages of inhuman barbarians. The bill for this purpose originated with the assembly; and Mr. De Lancey, who was now closeting the members, was its principal constructor. When it came before the council, on the 28th of March, that board immediately objected to it, according to his expectations: and the Governor declared, that if the council approved, he should himself give it a negative. According to the tenor of this bill, the forces designed for the western expedition were to serve but forty days, when the province of New-Jersey had ordained their quota to be disbandable by Mr. Belcher: and Sir Charles Hardy insisted, that the like confidence ought to be reposed in his judgment. The two houses now engaged themselves in a dispute, at a time when, of all others, every contention should have been avoided. Mr. Oliver De Lancey, appointed by the house to provide the supplies for the regiment designed as our quota towards the Crown-Point expedition, now gave orders to stop all farther preparations, an open rupture between the governor and assembly being daily expected. The members began freely to speak against him. The council laboured to procure an alteration of the bill; but all to no purpose. The principal thing aimed at, was the passing of the debt bill: and a leading member in the house plainly intimated their designs to the Governor. Doubtless your Lordship will wonder he did not dissolve them with indignation. Believe me, my Lord, it would have been a step, at this time, extremely unadvisable. Forty days intermission, between the test and return of the writ of summons for the election of representatives, being required by law, the public exigencies were too pressing to admit of any delay. Mr. De Lancey knew all his advantages: and that Sir Charles Hardy might be at no

loss to conjecture that the house was now acting at his beck, nor himself under the necessity of joining with the council against the bill, absented himself from the consultations of that board. The neighbouring colonies, in the mean time, were urging the dispatch of our preparations for opening the campaign. Reduced at length by these perplexities, he was obliged to send for his lieutenant, and gave him his promise to pass the favourite bill for payment of the public debts. The house then privately took back the quota-bill; and, after a few alterations, the council passed it on the 31st of March. To both of them Sir Charles gave his assent the following day: and they were enrolled among our laws. I leave this affair to your Lordship's own reflections; observing only, that from this period, the Lieutenant Governor's influence became more apparent than before; and that as it always was, so it will ever continue to be, his ruling passion, and the grand engine of his politics, to crush or control the King's governors in this province.

The plan of operations, concerted at New-York in December, was a few days after transmitted to Sir Thomas Robinson, to be laid before his Majesty, for the royal approbation.* Upon the arrival of the first vessels from Europe in April following, we were surprised with these remarkable articles of intelligence: that the action at L. George had been magnified in England into an almost decisive victory; that Mr. Johnson was advanced to the dignity of a baronet, and 5000*l.* sterling voted by the commons, as a farther reward for his great services: that Eyres, his engineer, was raised to a majority; and Wraxall, his secretary, to the command of a company. To crown, in fine, the utmost wishes of his adversaries, that Mr. Shirley's conduct having been entirely disapproved, his Majesty had been pleased to remove him from the command, and appoint the right hon. the Earl of Loudon general of all his forces in North-America. Than these particulars, nothing could have been more pleasing to the New-York cabal, as they were shortly to

* Mr. Pownal importuned Mr. Shirley to be made the bearer of these despatches. The general very civilly thanked him for the offer of his service; but chose rather to confide in Major Rutherford and Capt. Staats Morris. Mr. Pownal followed soon after them to England.

reap the fruits of all those calumnies, of which they had been the original authors. A change of the General at once gratified their revenge and ambition, and facilitated the execution of an affair earnestly solicited, and greatly advancive of their interest.

I will not assert, that Mr. Shirley had yet received his Majesty's orders with respect to the late plan of operations. I believe he had not, because on the 7th of May he arrived at Albany, and continued his preparations for carrying that plan into execution, until the 25th of the month, when a council of war was there held, consisting of the following members:

His Excellency the GENERAL,
Lieut. Col. Gage, Lieut. Col. Burton, Major Chapman, Major Sparks, Sir John St. Clair, John Montresor, Esq. chief engineer.

Mr. Shirley laid before them the minutes of the congress in December, and acquainted them with the state of affairs. With respect to the western expedition, the naval force upon the lake consisted, he observed, of two vessels of ten carriage guns each; two row-gallies, each of ten swivels; and that he had three months before issued orders for building three other vessels, one of eighteen, another of sixteen, and a third of twelve carriage guns. Besides which, there would be 250 whale-boats upon the lake, each of them capable of containing sixteen men. The land forces then at Oswego, and on their march for preserving a free communication between that place and Albany, were his own and Pepperell's regiments, with that raised and supported by the province of New-Jersey, and the four independent companies of New-York. As there was a magazine of provisions and stores at the Canajohary Falls, about thirty-five miles from Schenectady, his Excellency proposed posting there 100 men out of those forces; as many more at the German Flats, to secure another magazine, guard the portage, and convoy the provisions through the Wood Creek: and as the fall near Oswego occasioned another small portage, a fort was there also to be erected, for a garrison of fifty men at least. It was, my Lord, of the greatest moment to keep open the communication between Albany and our fort on the lake; his

Excellency was therefore intent upon raising four companies of sixty privates each, to be employed in scouting along the passage, and harassing the French settlements between Frontenac and Montreal.

The General gave them also an account of the strength of Oswego, when he left it the last fall; adding, that he had sent up Mr. M'Keller, the engineer in second, and Mr. Sewer, a practitioner engineer, with orders to make such additional works, as they should think necessary for the security of that important post. And your Lordship will be pleased to take notice, that these orders were issued very early in March, before the Mohawk river was open; and that the engineers actually arrived at Oswego in April. At these several garrisons were to be deposited six months provisions for 7000; and he observed to the council, that, for that purpose, 200 whaleboats and 500 batteaux had been dispatched, since the first of April, from Schenectady. The remaining quantity would have been transported by the middle of July, had his designs been carried into execution.

As to the provincial expedition, he informed them, that the troops voted by the several colonies amounted to 8800 men, including the officers and garrisons at the forts Edward and William-Henry. One, or perhaps two hundred Indians might be expected to join them, besides a company which his Excellency had raised, to harass the enemy upon lake Champlain, and procure intelligence of their motions in Canada; and three more, for the like service, were intended to be chosen out of the whole force destined for Crown-Point.

About this time, one Rogers, of New-Hampshire, captain of a ranging company, gave repeated demonstrations of his activity in the neighbourhood of Crown-Point. He made many incursions upon the enemy, fell on their scattered parties, and scarce ever returned to Fort William-Henry without scalps and prisoners. The General took particular notice of him; and he became singularly serviceable in procuring intelligence. By a cadet, whom he took on the 20th of May, we were informed, that the whole number of men at Fort St. Frederick, Ticonderoga, and at an advanced post, were 1100, composed of the regiments of Languedoc, the Queen's

regiment, two companies of the colony troops, and the militia. Besides these, there were Indians; but their numbers uncertain. That at Ticonderoga the French had twelve pieces of ordnance mounted, and carriages preparing for an additional number; but that the retrenchment at the advanced post was without any cannon. These troops wintered at Montreal and Chambly, and arrived at the fourth end of the lake about the middle of April, being plentifully supplied with provisions and military stores. These intelligences the General laid before his council; and then observed, that the 50th and 51st regiments, the four independent companies, and the regiment of New-Jersey, were scarce a third part of the number of troops designed by the general plan for the operations upon Lake Ontario: that the provincials were also not only deficient of the complement thought necessary at the congress, but even of the number voted by the provinces concerned in the enterprise against Crown-Point; and that it was impracticable, even with the junction of the 44th and 48th regiments, then at Albany, to carry on both the northern and western expeditions at the same time: that he had no dependence upon the Indians of the Six Nations, Sir William Johnson being unable to procure scouting parties; and that upon this account he proposed raising four companies for that service.

Your Lordship may hence observe, what reason the congress in December had for their opinion, that more troops were necessary for his Majesty's service in America. No reinforcements being yet arrived from England, for carrying the general plan into execution, the council were of unanimous opinion, that 1300 ought to be posted at Oswego, 50 at the Falls, 200 at the Onedia Carrying-Place, 150 at the German Flats, and as many more at the Canajohary Falls. They advised, therefore, that the 50th and 51st, and the New-Jersey regiments, the independents, and the North-Carolina provincials, (all which amounted to about 2000 men) should be employed in that service. The 44th and 48th regiments, with the colony troops, were thought sufficient to reduce Crown-Point. Accordingly, they recommended their junction; advising, however, that the regulars should continue for

a time in their encampment at Albany. The ranging companies, proposed by the General, were highly approved; and the raising of others strongly recommended. They also concurred with him in sentiment, that a road ought to be made from the German Flats to Oswego; and declared, it appeared to them very necessary to strengthen Fort Edward, and erect another at the South Bay. The former was a deposit for stores, and at the concurrence of all the routes from Crown-Point to Albany. The latter would command the route taken by barron Dieskau for his designed attack upon Fort Edward; a route through which incursions were frequently made upon our northern frontier. A fort at the South Bay was conceived requisite, to cover our convoys of provisions for the northern expedition from the insults of the enemy, who, in flying parties, infested the passage from Albany* to William-Henry. The propriety of this advice, my Lord, must be evident to every man of a tolerable acquaintance with the country; and these were the very sentiments which the General repeatedly communicated to Sir William Johnson, in his letters, after the action at Lake George; which were then slighted by the cabal, who studiously opposed him in all his measures.

Thus I have shewn your Lordship the reasons why the general plan continued to be unexecuted, till the sitting of this last council of war. Mr. Shirley, however, in hopes of the arrival of the expected reinforcements, and loath to be diverted from his favourite designs upon Lake Ontario, continued to throw large quantities of provisions and stores into Schenectady, and all the magazines between that place and Oswego. This, it was supposed, was done to induce his successor, from these ample supplies, to act upon this quarter; it being universally imagined, that Crown-Point was now become the main object of the ministry. Till the arrival of General Webb, on the 7th of June, this was only conjecture, and

* For the building of a fort at South Bay, preparations were making when Mr. Shirley resigned the command of the army: but the work has since been neglected: and the passage from Fort Edward to our camp at William-Henry, infested all this summer, and many of our people cut off, as was foreseen by this council.

general report. The effects of the misrepresentations of American affairs in England, then became evident to all; for the stores, laid in at Schenectady, were now reconveyed to Albany, for the northern expedition; and fresh clamours excited against Mr. Shirley, for his supplies towards the western operations. On the 15th of June, Major General Abercrombie landed at New-York; and ten days after, at Albany; where he immediately took upon himself the command of the army. Shirley continued there no longer than to deliver over to the new General the proper returns, and communicate such information as appeared necessary, with respect to the present situation of affairs.

The whole force, of which General Abercrombie now took the command, consisted of the 44th, 48th, 50th, and 51st regiments, four independent companies, the New-Jersey regiment, four companies raised by the province of North-Carolina, Otway's, and the Highland regiments,* and the provincial forces destined against Crown-Point.

Instructions had been given to Sir William Johnson, to procure a large body of the Six Nations, to join in any attempt that might be made upon the Lake Ontario; and to engage 100 more for the assistance of the provincial army. To effect which, he was then holding a conference with the deputies of the Six Cantons at Onondaga, from whence he was to proceed immediately to Oswego. Mr. Shirley had, besides, raised a company of Indians from Stockbridge, to be employed in ranging the woods between Fort William-Henry and Montreal: and that his Majesty's service upon Lake Ontario might be free from the obstructions, by which it had been the year before greatly embarrassed, he had enlisted 40 companies of batteau-men, each of 50 men, a captain and an assistant, for transporting stores and provisions to Oswego. These were put under the direction of Captain Bradstreet, an active, vigilant officer, inured to the hardships to which that service inevitably exposed him. This, though one of the most judicious measures that could have been taken, was made the subject of low invective. The faction at New-York laboured to represent it as a project

* These two regiments arrived with him, and consisted of about 900 men.

to involve the Crown in a needless expense: but time has given the fullest evidence of the propriety of this step; and *proper* it will appear to your Lordship, before the conclusion of this letter. General Shirley wisely foresaw, that the Indians of the Six Nations, whatever influence over them Sir William Johnson might pretend, could not be engaged even to protect the King's troops in the passage through their own country; and that unless the communication was kept open to Oswego, nothing could be effected upon the Lake, nor the garrison itself preserved from falling into the hands of the enemy. Accordingly, no sooner did the spring open, than a little blockaded post, with twenty-five men, at the Carrying-Place, in the very centre of the Oneida country, was cut off; the Oneidas themselves being unquestionably concerned in the massacre. Nothing could secure us against the repetition of these insults, but passing through the country with large squadrons of batteaux: and to facilitate the transportation, Mr. Shirley, who canvassed every expedient for the preservation of Oswego, employed a working party of eighty men, under a director, to remove the obstructions in the Wood-Creek; by this means, the portage from the Mohawk River, across the great Carrying-Place, was reduced from eight miles to one. Nor did he omit observing to his successor, that an attempt upon Niagara was of the last importance; the loss or preservation of our Indians depending upon the success of the operations on Lake Ontario.

Relative to the Crown-Point expedition, he recommended the march of part of the army, in a new-discovered route, on the west side of Lake George, to the enemy's advanced works, five miles short of Ticonderoga; which being carried, the heavy artillery and stores might be there landed, and transported through a road to Ticonderoga and Fort Frederick: and after the reduction of those fortresses, he advised General Abercrombie immediately to construct armed vessels, to secure the command of Lake Champlain.

Your Lordship may remember, that an attempt was proposed, at the congress in December, against Fort Du Quesne, with an army of 3000 provincials. Governor Sharpe was to have commanded in that enterprise; but

there remained now no hopes of its prosecution. Virginia chose to be entirely upon the defensive. Maryland was wholly inactive; her frontier being covered by the adjoining provinces: and as to Pennsylvania, she raised indeed 1500 men, but only with a view to protect her out-farms; nor probably would thus far have consulted her own safety, but for the daily murders and horrid cruelties perpetrated upon her borders.

With respect to the circumstances of Indian affairs to the northward: While Mr. Shirley was at Oswego, and upon his return, as I before observed to your Lordship, he proposed to the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, and Oneidas, the erection of small forts, for the protection of their respective castles. The two last tribes consented; desiring also, that the forts might be mounted with cannon: and the Tuscoraras afterwards sent deputies to him, with the like request. The Senecas and Cayugas had also lately signified their acquiescence to Sir William Johnson; and the General transmitted him the plan of a fort, directing the prosecution of the work with all possible dispatch, as a most effectual means to secure the Indian country to his Majesty.

Before Mr. Shirley left Oswego the last year, he proposed to the Six Nations, their convening this summer, in a grand council there, the Indians on the north side of Lake Ontario, and round Lake Erie, to consult their common interest, and maintain a correspondence by annual councils at Oswego. And to draw off the latter from their attachment to the French, recommended to the Six Nations their concurrence, in opening a free trade with the foreign Indians, at the entrance of the Onondaga river, upon terms more advantageous to all the Indians than any hitherto pursued. This spring, Sir William Johnson informed his Excellency, that the Six Nations were extremely well pleased with the projects relating both to the trade at Oswego, and the construction of forts in their cantons. To accelerate the latter, the General supplied him with 5000*l.* sterling, in addition to 5000*l.* advanced to him by General Braddock: and yet, my Lord, he was constrained to confess, in a subsequent letter,* that, unless his Excellency could engage

* May 10, 1756.

several companies of rangers, he despaired of the preservation even of a free passage through their country: and whether he has, to this day, built a single fort, as the General proposed, I have not been able, after much inquiry, to discover.

Equally unpromising was the situation of our affiairs with the southern Indians. Some hopes, indeed, were entertained of the fidelity of the Cherokees, a people warlike and powerful; in whose territories the Virginians were erecting a fortress. The Shawanese, nevertheless, continued their irruptions into that province: and Governor Dinwiddie was obliged to draft the militia, to oppose their progress, and preserve the town of Winchester. These Indians also, with the Susquehannas and Delawares, committed frequent hostilities upon the Pennsylvanians. Governor Morris, for the protection of the country, carried a line of forts on the west side of the Kittatiny mountains, all along the extended frontier of that colony, from Delaware to the river Potowmac. The government of New-Jersey proceeded even to declare war against the Delaware Indians; and would have penetrated into their settlements, had not assurances been sent by Sir William Johnson from the council at Onondaga, that the Delawares and Shawanese, in obedience to the Six Nations, were under renewed and positive engagements to refrain from any farther outrages upon the southern frontiers. If any such promises were really made, it is certain they were immediately broken, many of our inhabitants having since been murdered and captivated by the savages of those very tribes. Whence we may fairly conclude, that either the Six Nations connived at these infractions of their commands, or that their ancient sovereignty is become the contempt of their tributaries. In fact, my Lord, the matter is still worse. Too much reason is there to believe the truth of both these alternatives.

I informed your Lordship, that Sir William Johnson was ordered to proceed from Onondaga to Oswego, with as many Indians as could be persuaded to march with him, not only for the more effectual preservation of that post, but to execute the plan which Gen. Shirley had concerted, for the establishment of an annual council

there, with those Indians who had been long in the French interest, and seemed ready to listen to proposals for an alliance with us. It was expedient, my Lord, that he should have complied with these instructions; nay, it was his duty; but no sooner was he acquainted with Mr. Shirley's resignation of the command of the army, than he returned from Onondaga to Albany, at the head of about sixty Indians, leaving Capt. Patten, with his company of grenadiers, to wander through a forlorn wilderness, in search of Oswego. Whether this instance of his conduct was not intended to raise his reputation with the new General, as a leading man among the Indians, I leave to your Lordship's conjecture. By arts like these, he acquired his Indian fame: and the influence of the faction at New-York so powerfully sustained it, that few persons doubted his ability to procure several hundred warriors for our assistance, though every day exhibited fresh proofs of their melancholy defection. Besides the destruction of our post in the very country of the Oneidas, mentioned before, the enemy infested the parts about Oswego, and the whole passage thither, without the least opposition from the Six Nations. Alarms, indeed, were frequently given of the approach of their flying parties; and it was observable, that Sir William Johnson, on those occasions, as Colonel of the county, raised the militia of Albany, and proceeded to the spot; though every man, acquainted with Indians, well knows, that, of all places, these are the most unlikely for finding the enemy. By such sham expeditions have our northern inhabitants been impoverished and distressed: nor could they answer any other end, than to raise a bruit through the colonies; and, with parade and ostentation, set the gazetteers upon sounding his applause. Even in these wild romantic excursions, but few Indians attended him: and yet, if we credit our news-writers, hundreds were in his train.

Mr. Shirley had scarce resigned the command to Major-General Abercrombie, when the good effect of the batteau service became so irresistibly evident, that his very enemies recollected their ungrounded calumnies with shame and confusion. I allude, my Lord, to the action between the French and our batteau-men, on the 3d of July. Sensible of the importance of Oswego, the enemy collected themselves, about the latter end of May,

in a large body, not many miles to the eastward of that garrison; from whence detachments were perpetually sent out to fall upon our workmen, and infest the passage through the Onondaga River. Capt. Bradstreet, who had the direction of the batteaux, was apprized that small parties lay in ambush, waiting a favourable opportunity to attack him. Accordingly, when he left Oswego, he ordered the several divisions to proceed as near each other as possible: but so numerous and irregular a body could not, without difficulty, be kept to any tolerable order. He was at the head of about 300 batteau-men, in the first division, upon his return to Schenectady, and about nine miles from Oswego, when the enemy, who were 700 strong, rose from their ambuscade, and fired upon his front. Near the place of attack, was a small island, by which the enemy might easily have forded the river. Bradstreet, in an instant, landed upon the island, to prevent being inclosed between two fires; and with six men maintained his possession, bravely repelling twenty of the enemy, who attempted to seize that advantageous post. He was then reinforced with six others; and even compelled a second party of forty French to give way. Enraged at this shameful disappointment, the enemy, to the number of seventy men, thought proper to make a third attempt; but the batteau-men, who did not exceed twenty, with redoubled bravery, still kept their ground, and again forced their adversaries to retire. During these skirmishes, which lasted near an hour, the batteau-men in the rear landed, without loss or confusion, upon the south side of the river. Four hundred of the enemy now advanced up the north side of the stream, intending to ford it about a mile higher, and surround us. Bradstreet, aware of the design, left the island, and with two hundred men marched on the other side to oppose them. But they had actually forded over before he came up, and posted themselves in a swamp. Dr. Kirkland, with the second division of batteaux, was now advancing to his assistance; but Bradstreet ordered him, and Capt. Butler, who commanded the third division, to keep their posts, and cover the batteaux in the rear. Being arrived at the swamp, an engagement ensued, in the Indian manner of fighting, and continued above an hour, with dubious success. Bradstreet, at length, animating his men, rushed into the

thicket through twice his number, and gallantly pushed them into the river, where many of them perished. Another attempt was made, in the mean time, to ford the river a little higher; but those being also repulsed, the whole party was entirely routed and dispersed.

Just after the defeat, Capt. Patten, with his grenadiers from Onondaga, fell in with our batteaux; and the next morning a reinforcement of 200 men came up from the garrison; and but for the excessive rains, which began soon after the action, and continued all the next day, these brave batteau-men would probably have cut off the whole party. Had Sir William Johnson, as was expected, accompanied Capt. Patten to Oswego, with the Indians from Onondaga, Bradstreet might have made immediate pursuit, and many of the enemy must have been overtaken: but this pacific plenipotentiary was then hastening to Albany (a safe situation) with the important minutes of his late conference: a conference full of affectionate Indian speeches, and large promises of their assistance; when scarce a man of them could be prevailed upon to turn out of his hut for the defence of the common cause. Bradstreet had but three Indians of the six Nations with him at this attack. Of these, one took to his heels; a second fought bravely; but the third went over to the enemy, and assisted in pointing out our officers. In these several actions we had about 30 men killed and wounded. How many of the French were slain, is not certainly known; though it is generally said, they lost about 120. Eighty arms were brought to Schenectady; and about 70 men found in the woods, and carried to Oswego. The French fled in the utmost disorder: and some of their regular soldiers, being strangers to the country, got bewildered in the desert, and perished for want of sustenance.

Bradstreet arrived at Schenectady on the 11th of July; and the next day acquainted General Abercrombie, at Albany, of the state of Oswego: That he learnt from his prisoners, the French were preparing to attack it, having 1200 men for that purpose encamped not far from the easternmost fort. Upon the receipt of this intelligence, orders were issued to Major-General Webb, to hold himself in readiness to march for its defence with the 44th regiment. My Lord, Mr. Shirley had, several days be-

fore,* advised General Abercrombie to reinforce that garrison with two battalions † at least: and they might have marched immediately, as Bradstreet was ready to convoy the troops, and every magazine, along the passage, plentifully supplied with provisions. But not to anticipate my story;

Mr. Shirley arrived at New-York on the 4th of July, and waited the arrival of my Lord Loudon, who landed there on the 23d of that month, with Mr. Pownal in his train: but in what character the latter returned a second time from England, was a subject of doubtful conjecture. His Lordship, regardless of his ease, and the fatigues of a tedious voyage, tarried there but three days; and on the 29th of July reached his head-quarters at Albany, when he took upon himself the command of the army.

The garrison of Oswego consisted now of 1400 men, and about 300 workmen and sailors. Four hundred and eighty-five were posted, in small parties, between that place and Burnet's Field, to maintain an open passage through the country of the Six Nations. The 44th and 48th regiments at Albany and Schenectady, with the British troops just arrived, consisted now of 2600 men; and the provincials, under the command of General Winslow, were about 7000, and ready to march from Fort William-Henry. Of the naval force of Oswego, I have already given your Lordship an account: and as to the strength of the enemy at Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, according to the latest intelligence obtained by Capt. Rogers, they did not exceed 3000 men.

From his Lordship's known abilities for war, the colonies were in great hopes, that, notwithstanding the delay of the British reinforcements, some coup d'eclat would very speedily be struck at Crown-Point. But alas! while we were intent upon this favourite design, the enemy were bending their main force, not to oppose us at Ticonderoga, but to secure what was to them a matter of much more importance, I mean the exclusive dominion

* On the 26th of June, the day after he was superseded.

† Such a reinforcement could easily have been spared for that purpose, Otway's and the Highland regiment being now landed at Albany. And that this necessary step might not be obstructed, General Shirley had, before their arrival, dispatched an express to Oswego, ordering Bradstreet to quicken his return to Schenectady.

of the great Lakes. Accordingly, they laid siege to Oswego; and, after two or three days' contest, obliged the garrison, on the 14th of August, to surrender themselves prisoners of war. This melancholy account was first brought to Albany by several soldiers, some of whom had formerly deserted the French service; and remained many days unconfirmed, till the arrival of two sailors, who made their escape after the reduction of the forts. An universal shock was now given to the whole continent: and to increase our distress, the Indians reported, that the whole garrison was put to the sword, and the dead bodies of our countrymen denied even the sacred rite of sepulture. But this, by subsequent advices, was contradicted: and the spies, dispatched for observation, inform us, that the works are entirely demolished, and the enemy departed. In what manner, and by what numbers, it was taken, or upon what terms surrendered, I cannot give your Lordship any satisfactory account. How many were killed on either side is also unknown; though certain it is, that Lieut. Col. Mercer, the commanding officer, is among the slain.

It is much to be wished, my Lord, that Mr. Shirley's advice to General Abercrombie had been followed: and equally to be regretted, that Sir William Johnson returned with such precipitation from Onondaga to Albany. Nor ought the discharge of 400 batteau-men, after Bradstreet's return, to pass without some remark. They arrived at Schenectady, as I observed before, on the 11th of July; and methinks the recent proofs of their courage, and the account they gave of the strength and designs of the enemy, might have been a sufficient antidote against the poison of that council for their discharge; which was unquestionably designed by Mr. Shirley's enemies for throwing an odium on his measures. To the same influence, my Lord, it was undoubtedly owing, that General Webb's march, with the 44th regiment, from Schenectady, was delayed till the 12th of August, but two days before the garrison was actually surrendered. He had proceeded no farther than Burnet's Field, with his regiment of 900 men, and the remaining 800 batteau-men, when the deserters brought him the news of the siege. Upon the receipt of which, he made a forced

march to the Oneida Carrying-Place; where he immediately felled trees into the Wood Creek, to prevent the approach of the enemy.*

These, my Lord, were great oversights: but the loss of Oswego must principally be ascribed to a more distant cause, to a junto, who have all along embarrassed every part of his Majesty's service on the Lake Ontario. By their misrepresentations, the public has been drawn into a dependence upon the Six Nations, merely to exalt Sir William Johnson: and that nothing might be wanting to procure a change in the command of the army, and destroy all confidence in Shirley's judgment, Oswego, the great object of his attention, has been slighted as an unessential post; and the reduction of St. Frederick represented as a point of far superior moment.

My Lord, by these intrigues our country bleeds. Oswego is lost; lost, perhaps, for ever, with the naval armament, above sixty pieces of ordnance, and a rich supply of stores and provisions, laid in at a vast expense, for several thousand men, during the whole campaign. Would to God this was all, and we had nothing worse to apprehend! Our fur trade, which has long been the principal object of the national attention, and the support of our frontier city of Albany, is at an end. The French can now, with the utmost facility, secure the inland country, and confine us to the very brinks of the ocean: a free communication is opened between Canada and Louisiana; and all our intercourse with the Indians totally rescinded. The enemy, on the other hand, may, without opposition or restraint, render these innumerable tribes of savages their allies and dependents. The six nations are more wavering than ever; and should they no longer think it expedient to preserve their neutrality, the whole continent must inevitably become a field of blood. Whatever may be thought of these co-

* The French were equally apprehensive of his advancing towards them, or of our attempting to rebuild Oswego: and very prudently improving the present advantage, began where General Webb left off, and continued the obstruction quite down to the entrance into the Oneida Lake; which renders it impossible to pass through the Wood Creek, 40 miles in length. General Webb, not long after, abandoned the Carrying-Place, after burning down the forts, much to the dissatisfaction of the Indians.

lonies, which of late have been magnified for their numbers and opulence, I do assure your Lordship, that a short war will effectually exhaust them. Their settlements are scattered; their frontiers extensive; the inhabitants but few, generally in very moderate circumstances, and still luxurious, and without resources. The irruption of a few Indians into Pennsylvania had already occasioned the loss of several hundred souls, and the desolation of near two thousand farms. The frontiers of the neighbouring colonies are equally defenceless; and the power of the native savages, at present in the French interest, is of itself sufficient, by slow, but inevitable means, to reduce us to extreme beggary and distress.

Thus, my Lord, I have finished the relation of what has hitherto been transacted in America. I have not only presented you with a series of the most interesting events, but brought your Lordship acquainted with the characters and designs of the principal agents in our political affairs. If I have erred, I am persuaded it is not in any article of importance, nor purposely in the minutest. Every line of this letter hath been penned with the most sacred veneration for truth, and a mind equally unbiased by resentment or affection. For obtaining an intimate acquaintance with the matters rehearsed, few in the colonies have had superior advantages: nor in collecting proper materials, has any one been more assiduous. Add to this, that I had no other interest in the public measures, than the interest of every man on the continent. I am unconnected with all parties; neither enjoying any post myself, nor standing in the least relation to a single officer in the army. The love of my country was the sole spring of my curiosity; and so far, indeed, I was not an unconcerned spectator of the public transactions. If I have made honourable mention of General Shirley, it was owing to my approbation of his schemes, as conducive to the common weal of the British plantations: and if my judgment was in this regard erroneous, I have the pleasure to find myself in very respectable company. Except New-York, or rather a prevailing faction there, all the colonies hold him in very high esteem. Some have made public declarations of their sense of his great merit; and that too, at a time when he appeared descending

from his meridian of glory. But he needed no other than the testimonials of his own province; for he, my Lord, whose conduct is approved by the people of the Massachusetts-Bay, must be distinguished both for his abilities and his virtue. They are too numerous and wise to be deceived, too free and independent to be driven. An undue influence can never be obtained by the Governor of a colony, who has neither power nor places to bestow. Their assemblies are annual; the members elected by ballot, in number near two hundred. The council, or middle estate, chosen yearly by the assembly: and as all the offices are elective, not a man in the province is dependent on the smiles or the frowns of the King's representative: and yet so wise, free, and loyal a people have approved his judgment; confided in his integrity; testified in his favour; and publicly lamented his departure from the continent. I would by no means, my Lord, be understood, by these favourable sentiments of Shirley, to disparage his noble successor in the command. He yet has not, at least he deserves not to have, a single enemy amongst us: and I hope it will serve the purposes of no man to be his enemy. I could only have wished, that, at this critical juncture, a gentleman so thoroughly versed in American affairs, had been continued in America for his Lordship's assistance. We have to contend with a subtle, enterprising foe; a foe, rapacious, martial, and bloody, committing murders, rather than waging war. Though the French colony contains, perhaps, not 30,000 men capable to bear arms; yet these are all under the despotic command and sole direction of their Governor-General; and experience teaches us, that, in spite of our navy, they may be annually reinforced. The strength of our colonies, on the other hand, is divided; and the concurrence of all necessary both for supplies of men and money. Jealous are they of each other; some ill constituted; others shaken with intestine divisions, and, if I may be allowed the expression, parsimonious even to prodigality. Our assemblies are diffident of their Governors; Governors despise their assemblies, and both mutually misrepresent each other to the Court of Great-Britain. Military measures demand secrecy and dis-

patch: but while the colonies remain divided, and nothing can be transacted but with their universal assent, it is impossible to maintain the one, or proceed with the other. Without a general constitution for warlike operations, we can neither plan nor execute. We have a common interest, and must have a common council; *one head* and *one purse*. The French service is unexposed to those embarrassments; and hence they project without discovery; and we scarce collect their designs, before we are attacked and defeated. Hitherto they have prosecuted the war with superior advantage; and yet the militia of the province of the Massachusetts-Bay alone, undoubtedly exceeds, by some thousands, all the troops of Canada. Since the commencement of the present hostilities, his Majesty has lost above 3000 loyal subjects: and as all the Indians are at the devotion of the French, and Oswego is now lost, many thousand farms, before the opening of the next spring, will probably be abandoned; and the interior settlements deluged with the innocent blood of all ages and sexes. Indeed, my Lord, it is not beneath the most elevated station, to indulge the benevolent feelings of humanity; nor, retiring awhile from the pomp and gaiety that surrounds you, to shed a pitying tear over families inhumanly bereft of their substance, or more inhumanly slaughtered in their beds. It is a celebrated saying, and does honour to human nature, "Homo sum, et nihil humanum a me alienum puto."

What the present or the next campaign will bring forth, is known only to the Omniscient Governor of the universe. The colonies are nearly exhausted, and their funds already anticipated by expensive, unexecuted projects: and whether they will still continue their efforts, or resign to a listless despair, is uncertain. I fear the worst; and yet you know, my Lord, I am not of a melancholy cast. There is too much reason for general concern: and I venture to predict, what every judicious person foresees, that unless some successful blow is struck, and speedily struck, at the power of France, Britain must inevitably lose her possessions in America: An event, my Lord, of the most tremendous consequence to us, to you, to the Protestant religion, to the peace of Europe; yes, and to the peace and happiness of all mankind.

Hitherto we have wasted our strength in lopping off branches, when the axe should have been laid to the root of the tree. Canada, my Lord, Canada must be demolished. Delenda est Carthago, or we are undone. Strength sufficient have we left, with proper assistance, for a decisive struggle: but a lingering consumption will infallibly enervate and destroy. France has been, ever can, and will be annually, throwing over fresh troops into her colony, in defiance of our great maritime force: and should peace ensue, even before our ruin is completed, what will be the state of these provinces upon the next rupture between the two crowns, when the frontier country is filled with our enemies? As you therefore value, my noble Lord, the cause of liberty; the glory of the British name; the honour and dignity of the best of Kings; and the preservation of these colonies from bloody carnage and total ruin; exert, I beseech you, exert your influence, to extirpate this brood of French savages from the face of the continent. In a scheme so decisive, and in no other, will the provinces heartily unite; and if well concerted, and our unfortified sea-coasts at the same time sufficiently protected, it will doubtless succeed; humble the pride of France; and close the present war with a lasting and honourable peace.

I am, my Lord, with the profoundest respect,
your Lordship's most obliged and obedient servant.

New-York, *Sept.* 20, 1756.

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## A Description of Wiscasset, and of the River Sheepscot. By Rev. Alden Bradford, Minister at Wiscasset, S. H. S.

JUDGE Sullivan, in his History of the District of Maine, Dr. Morse, in his Gazetteer and Geography, and the Duc de Liancourt, in his volume of travels through the United States and Canada, have given some account of Wiscasset. But they are very partial, and in some instances erroneous in their statements; and a particular and accurate description of this place and river, though considerably celebrated for the nautical enterprise of the inhabitants, and for its great advantages with respect to navigation, has never yet been published.

Wiscasset is situated on the western branch of Sheepscot river, about twenty miles from the island of Seguin;* which lies two miles off the neck, or point of land that separates the entrances into the rivers Kennebec and Sheepscot. The mouth of Kennebec is very narrow; only about half a mile; and the current exceedingly rapid. But the entrance into Sheepscot, for seven or eight miles above Seguin, presents the appearance of a large bay. The width gradually lessens. But even at the distance from its mouth, just mentioned, it is two miles and upwards. Five miles below Wiscasset, the river becomes much more confined, and the banks are high. In some places, it is little more than half a mile. The water is very deep, generally from fifteen to twenty fathoms.

In one place, a mile below Wiscasset, where the river is only about one hundred rods wide, there are not more than eleven fathoms. There is not less water in any place in the river, below this settlement: and it is navigable for the largest ships with perfect safety, as high as this place. In the year 1775, two British men of war came up the river opposite the town. And merchant ships of more than five hundred tons are owned here; which lay afleet at low water, when loaded, at some of the wharves.

Against the compact part of the town, and for a short distance above and below, the river is nearly a mile wide. The navigation is rather difficult for large vessels above this place. But those of an hundred tons may safely ascend about four miles higher up the river, to New-Castle. Here is a fall of water, which prevents any other craft than boats to proceed farther into the country. The tide-water continues yet five miles higher, where the river is very small, and fit only for the business of mills; several of which are here advantageously situated.

Over the river, half a mile above the fall, there is a toll bridge, built in 1795, which is six hundred feet in length.

The land, where is the compact and mercantile part of the town, approaches to a point; or, is rather two sides of a parallelogram; the longest of which is the bank of the river, lying about N. by E. and S. by W.;

* This island is in lat. 43. 52. long. 68.

and the shortest side, the margin of a small bay, or inlet, which, on the south of the settlement, encroaches on the main about one hundred and forty rods, for the distance of three fourths of a mile.

The course of the river, from its mouth, both above and below Wiscasset, is nearly N. by E. But in some places, for short distances, it varies from this direction. A little below Wiscasset point, it is diverted from its general course to a N. W. one, where the bed of the river is narrow; but soon again continues its usual direction.

On the west side of Sheepscot river, near its mouth, is Parker's island. This is in Georgetown; and extends a few miles, when the island of Jeremysquam continues to bound this shore of the river, within a mile of Wiscasset point. This island extends about twelve miles in length, and is in some places a mile and a half; but generally from one to half a mile wide. The western side of this island is separated from the southern part of Wiscasset, and from a part of Woolwich, (which is adjoining Wiscasset on the S. W.) by a cross river running from Sheepscot, and falling into the Kennebec opposite to Bath, about eight miles from its mouth. This cross river meets the Sheepscot about a mile south of Wiscasset point, where the course of this latter river, for a short distance, makes a right angle with its general direction; and thus a bay is formed of about two miles by one; which is very convenient and pleasant.

The cross river communicating with Kennebec, is a great advantage to Wiscasset. Lumber of all kinds is brought here from various parts of the Kennebec, and from Amariscoggin. Vessels of seventy and eighty tons pass through this cross river loaded. And a new light ship of 400 tons has been carried through here, by taking advantage of the tide and current, which, in some places, where the river is narrow, is very rapid.

Beside the great depth, and the comparative stillness of the water in Sheepscot, there is another advantage for navigation, which it has over most other rivers in the District of Maine: It is seldom obstructed by ice in the coldest and longest winters. It has sometimes been known to be frozen, for one or two days, about half the

distance from the Point, where is the lowest wharf, to the narrows; that is, half a mile. But even then, the ice was easily removed. And below this, it never freezes. Only once in six years, though there have been several very severe winters in this period, has the river been frozen as low as the Point, and then it continued only about twenty-four hours. A little higher, at the most northern wharves, the ice is often entirely across the river, and sometimes continues several days.

The water here flows and ebbs from ten to fifteen feet; generally about twelve; which is nearly the same as at Boston. And it is remarkable, that at Portsmouth, Portland, and other places between this and Boston, the tide flows less than in these two harbours.

There are ten considerable wharves in this place, one of which is 550 feet in length. It is about eighty rods higher up the river than that at the Point, which is adjoining the channel of the river. The long wharf also runs off to the edge of the channel; so that very large vessels, laden, are afleet at these, when the water is the lowest.

The compact part of the town consists of about one hundred and thirty dwelling-houses; some of which are large and elegant. The stores are numerous; and some of them spacious, and ornamental to the town. There are four streets running parallel with the river, distant from one another about twelve rods. These are intersected at right angles, about eighty rods north of the Point, by a street 140 feet wide, passing down a gentle descent by the meeting and court houses, (which are handsome buildings,) in almost a straight course to the head of the long wharf. This is the main street leading into the village from the W. and N. W. The street leading out of town to the eastward is the continuation of the third, which is parallel with the river. It leaves the main street about fifty rods from the river, and its course is straight for three quarters of a mile, when it winds to the N. E.

On the east side of the river, opposite to Wiscasset, is the town of Edgecombe. The island of Jeremysquam, which lies on the west side of the Sheepscot below Wiscasset, and as high up as the narrows, before mentioned, belongs to this town, and not to Woolwich, as Judge Sullivan asserts in his History of Maine.

What is now Pownalborough, (for Wiscasset * is the Indian name of the Point only, though the village is generally known by this name,) is bounded N. and N. by E. by New-Milford, which was incorporated in 1793: It was before called the north parish of Pownalborough: On the N. W. by Dresden, lying on the eastern bank of Kennebec, which was set off from this town at the same time with New-Milford: On the W. and S. W. it is separated from Woolwich by a small stream called Monseag, up which the tide flows some distance, from the cross river, leading into Kennebec; and the water of this cross river washes the south part of Pownalborough.

The town extends nearly eight miles from S. by W. to N. by E.; and is four miles in the opposite directions. It contains about three hundred and fifty families, and two thousand inhabitants; two thirds of which are in the village at the Point. Nearly half the town is cleared; and there are some very good farms. But the land in general is too clayey to be profitable for tilling. For grass, it is very good.

A great part of the land on the sea coast, and within twenty miles of it, in the District of Maine, contains a large proportion of clay; † and while every man possesses an extensive farm, it is not to be expected that the clayey lands will produce much beside grass, barley, and potatoes; as they cannot afford to mix with it a sufficient quantity of sand and manure to render it suitable for the profitable culture of corn and grain in general. But when they shall be contented to hold and cultivate less land, and shall learn to mix sand or shells with the clay, it will produce all kinds of roots, grain and fruits in the greatest plenty. For it has been found that clayey lands are the best for gardens, when prepared by a mixture of sand and manure.

The land farther from the sea coast, and for a great distance into the country, and parallel to the ocean, is of a very superior quality. It is generally of the richest loam, and produces all kinds of grain as abundantly as any

* Formerly it was pronounced Wissacasset by the Indians; and is said to mean the confluence of three waters or rivers.

† There are some exceptions to this general remark.

part of New-England. And it is settling and improving in a most rapid manner.

There are a few good orchards in Pownalborough. But the cultivation of the apple tree is too much neglected. The common red cherry is found here in great abundance There are also some plum trees. And the pear undoubtedly might be successfully cultivated; for it is generally found on clayey ground. A few peach trees have been raised in this and the neighbouring towns. But the general opinion is, that this fruit will not grow in this part of the country. This, however, is a mistaken idea; and adopted probably to excuse the negligence of the people. If particular spots were chosen, lying to the south, and of a light or loamy soil, no doubt they would succeed. General Knox, who lives about thirty miles eastward of this place, has in his garden a great number of peach and apricot trees of two and three years growth; and they look as flourishing and vigorous as those in the vicinity of Boston.

Currants, raspberries, gooseberries and strawberries grow here, and in most parts of the country, in great abundance. And there is a fruit called the moose plum, nearly as large as the apricot, natural to the climate, which would probably be much better, if carefully cultivated.

The wood is chiefly ever-green, such as the fir, spruce, hemlock, white pine, and yellow, or Norway pine. There is also a considerable proportion of maple, of different kinds, of birch and beech. In the adjoining towns, there is a great quantity of oak.

The extremes of heat and cold in this place do not differ much from Boston.* There are not so many very warm days here in summer, as in the vicinity of Boston, but some when the mercury rises as high within two or three degrees. And in winter, the mercury has been found not to be more than two degrees lower; but yet there is more cold weather here during the winter.

Pownalborough was incorporated in 1760, the same year that the county of Lincoln was separated from Cumberland; and it owes its name "to the pride of Governor Pownal."

* Dr. Morse is mistaken, when he says that the heat here is greater than at Boston.

There were some settlements made in this vicinity, as early as the year 1661. One Walter Philips purchased land at that time of some Indian chiefs, and lived several years on the western banks of Damariscotta river, now within the town of New-Castle, which lies above Wiscasset. Between this period and 1680, there were many families in this vicinity; the greater part of them on the eastern banks of Sheepscot in New-Castle. The inhabitants were mostly Dutch; and were under the government of New-York and Hudson's River. They were driven off by the Indians, in 1680.

About this time, there were a few families at Wiscasset. One George Davie settled here in 1663. It is said he lived about half a mile north of the Point, on an eminence, fifty rods from the river. A brother of his, and two others, lived here at the same period. But they all fled in 1680. The widow of one of these Davies died in Newton, near Boston, in 1752, aged 116. There is a portrait of her in the room of the Historical Society.

George Davie had also purchased a large tract of land of some Indians. "This came by inheritance and transfer to a number of wealthy men, who, in 1734, associated under the name of the Boston company. Wiscasset Point is in this tract."

"The settlements begun again by one Robert Hooper, in 1730. Foye and Lambert came in '34. And the proprietors soon after lotted out the lands for settlement." * Hooper lived some time by the side of a large rock, a little south of Main-street, and about three rods from the river, where now stands the house of Jeremiah Dalton.†

A few years after this, some families settled on the cross river, about two miles from Wiscasset Point; the names of which were Boynton, Taylor, Young, and Chapman. And in 1745, one Hilton from Dover, New-Hampshire, set down by Monseag river, which separates Woolwich from Pownalborough. But they were kept in continual fear by the Indians; and frequently were

* Sullivan's History of the District of Maine.

† A daughter of Hooper, Mrs. Taylor, is now living in Pownalborough. She was nine months old when she was brought to the place.

obliged to shelter themselves in the fort, which stood at the Point. Hilton was killed by the Indians; and his oldest son, now living in this town, was taken and carried to Canada; but returned the year after. A captain Williamson, who died here in 1798, aged 80, was also taken and carried to Quebec, but was soon released.

The post road from Boston to St. George's river and Penobscot passes through this town. And a post-office has been established here eleven years. The mail arrives twice a week from Boston; twice from Hallowell by a cross post, and twice from the eastward.

Wiscasset is a port of entry and delivery. And there are owned here nearly thirty square-rigged vessels; some of them very large. They amount to about 10,000 tons. They are lately chiefly employed in the West-India trade. Until within a few years, the merchants sent all their large vessels to England and Scotland with lumber. And some still pursue the same line of business. But the other is found to be more profitable. For the last three years, the merchants have added greatly to their property by trading to the Islands.

Wiscasset is justly considered a very healthy situation; and this is also true of most other towns in the District of Maine. More persons die of consumption, than of any other disease. And this is most probably owing to the too frequent use of spirit and tea. A great proportion of the common people are intemperate in the use of spirituous liquors; and often drink tea twice a day; which must be very injurious to the constitution. If they could be persuaded to reform in these respects, they would preserve both their health and their property.

For the last six years, the deaths, on an average, have been 13 a year. The births annually are upwards of 60.

And very few die in infancy. And if children were rightly managed from the time of their birth; if they were used to frequent cold washings and to the fresh air, and were kept cleanly, it would be very rare that any of them die, except by some malignant, contagious disease.

Several of the inhabitants of this place were from England, Scotland, or Ireland; some of whom were

Episcopalians, and some Presbyterians; but they are all happily united with the rest of the people, who form a Congregational Society. The Rev. Thomas Moore was the first ordained minister. He was settled in 1773.

Wiscasset is the principal shire town in the County of Lincoln. The Court of Pleas sets here once, the Supreme Judicial Court once, and the Federal District Court twice, a year.

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## Witham Marshe's Journal of the Treaty held with the Six Nations by the Commissioners of Maryland, and other Provinces, at Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, June, 1744.

*Saturday, June the 16th*, 1744.

THIS day the Hon. Edmund Jenings, and the Hon. Philip Thomas, Esqrs. of the council of state in Maryland, having heretofore been appointed (by a special power from his Excellency Thomas Bladen, Esq. Governor, under his hand, and the seal of that province) commissioners for treating with the Six Nations of Indians, on behalf of the province, concerning some lands claimed by them, and to renew all former treaties betwixt the Six Nations and this government, agreed to proceed on their embassy.

I was required by them to stay at Annapolis, and receive the bills of exchange (to defray our expenses) from Mr. Ross, clerk of the council; and, after receiving the bills on Sunday, P. M. I went to Mr. Thomas's, where I lodged that night.

*Sunday, 17th.* Mr. Commissioner Jenings went over Chesapeake Bay, as also did Mr. Benedict Calvert, who accompanied him to the treaty.

*Monday, June 18th*, 1744.

Breakfasted at Mr. Thomas's about 8 o'clock this morning, and soon after set out with him, and the Rev. Mr. Craddock, (who accompanied us in quality of chaplain to the Maryland commissioners) for Patapscoe. Arrived at James Moore's ordinary, at the head of Severn river, about one o'clock, where we dined; but such

a dinner was prepared for us, as never was either seen or cooked in the highlands of Scotland, or the isles of Orkney. It consisted of six eggs fried with six pieces of bacon, with some clammy pone or Indian bread. But as hunger knows little of cleanliness, and withal very impatient, we fell to, and soon devoured the victuals. Our liquor was sorry rum, mixed with water and sugar, which bears the heathenish name of bumbo. Of this we drank about a pint, to keep down the nauseous eggs and bacon.

*P. M.* Paid for our slovenly dinner and liquor, and pursued our journey to Mrs. Hughes's, at Patapscoe river, (over which she keeps a ferry) to whose house we came about 3 o'clock. Here we refreshed ourselves with some good coffee, and toast and butter, which was served to us in a neat and handsome manner: we likewise drank a bottle of generous wine; then paid our reckoning, and went over the river to Whetstone-Point, and from thence proceeded to William Rogers's ordinary in Baltimore town, being three miles distant from Mrs. Hughes's.

Monday evening, in Baltimore County. I left Mr. Thomas and the Rev. Parson at the ordinary, and went to Mr. Robert North's where I supped with some blithe company; and from thence returned to Rogers's. Mr. Bourdillon, minister of this parish, visited his brother of the cloth, and staid with us till near 11 o'clock this night. It was with this gentleman and his wife that I came into Maryland on the 1st of January, 1737. She is niece to Sir Theodore Janssen, Baronet. When Mr. Bourdillon had bidden us *bon soir*, we retired to rest our wearied limbs, having rode 44 long miles this hot day.

*Tuesday Morning, June 19th*, 1744.

Rose about 5 o'clock, and ordered breakfast to be got presently; which was done. Drank tea, and then mounted our horses to reach Edward Day's, who keeps the ferry on this side Joppa. Came to his house about 11 o'clock, baited ourselves and horses, and then passed over Gun-Powder river in his ferry-boat to Joppa town.

*At Joppa.* Rested at Mr. Brown's, who keeps a brick ordinary. Here we dined on a boiled ham, and some chickens fried with bacon. Drank good wine and small

beer, and rendered ourselves fit to encounter the fatigue of riding twenty-five miles further in this sultry weather.

Here I waited on the Rev. Hugh Deane, who is parson of this parish, to deliver him a packet of letters, &c. I received from Dr. Lyon, at Baltimore town. He read to me some of the news, mentioned in his European letters, concerning the queen of Hungary, the king of Prussia, and the Lord knows how many other potentates; but as I was neither politician, nor courtier, I gave but little attention to it. I understood Mr. D. had his intelligence from his wife's brother, who had some place in the government at home, or is in dependence of favours from some *great man:* God help him!

After dinner, about 3 in the afternoon, we took the route to Mr. Benjamin Chew's in Cecil county, whose house is distant from Joppa twenty-six miles.

Betwixt six and seven of the clock in the evening, we reached Susquehannah lower ferry; we tarried some small time, and sent our horses over it in a boat by themselves.

From hence we went to the eastern side of Susquehannah, and then rode to Mr. Chew's, about a mile and a half distance from the river.

At this house we supped very heartily, for which our priest returned thanks. After supper we had a good deal of chat on various subjects; and then, very willingly retired to bed.

*Wednesday morning, June 20th,* 1744.

We breakfasted at Mr. Chew's, and then set out (with him) for Nottingham township, which place we reached about a quarter of an hour after ten this morning. We put up our horses at Thomas Hughes's who keeps here an ordinary. He was an honest, facetious, and sober Quaker, a man of good plain sense and character.

Here we purposed to dine, and bespoke a dinner accordingly, which was prepared for us about two o'clock. Here we were shaved by our friend and companion Mr. Chew, for no barber could be got in the whole neighbourhood.

I thought it a little odd our friend (who was a justice of the peace in his county) should officiate as our tonsor;

but as we could get no other, he, purely out of good nature, did the office of one.

This township is a large body of land, consisting of between 30 and 40,000 acres. It lies in Chester County, within the Province of Pennsylvania. It is chiefly settled by Quaker farmers, who strive to imitate those in our mother country in every thing. There have been great disputes between the present Lord Baltimore, proprietor of Maryland, and Messrs. Penns, proprietors of Pennsylvania, concerning this place; the first averring it to lie within the bounds of his province; and the others, that it is contained within theirs. The inhabitants (being Quakers) are desirous of living under the Penns' government, by reason of the small taxes they are burthened with; and more especially as in that, they are not obliged to pay any thing to the priests of the steeple-houses; whereas in Maryland, by a law made anno 1704, every male, white and black, and also black women, above the age of 16, and under the age of 60, are obliged to pay 40 lb. of tobacco per poll to the incumbent of their respective parishes. This is a most iniquitous tax, and is a most grievous burthen to those who have many white men servants, and a great many slaves, which a great number of people have in Maryland.

The difference between the proprieters of the two provinces is likely to be ended by the Lord Chancellor, before whom a suit is depending, brought by the Penns against Lord Baltimore, for not standing to, or fulfilling some agreement relating to the bounds of both provinces, wherein the Quakers had been too sly for his Lordship, whereby their several titles may be drawn in question.

*Wednesday, P. M.* There was a great disputation betwixt the Hon. Mr. Thomas, and one Gatchell, an inhabitant of this place, concerning carnal weapons. The latter being one of the followers of George Fox, strenuously insisted, that it was not lawful to use any offensive weapon whatever. As this is the common cant of that set of people, it is in vain to think of arguing them out of it, though founded on no reason.

In this government subsists a quarrel betwixt the Governor of it, and the Quaker members of the house of assembly, occasioned by the latter's not consenting to a militia law, which they will not grant for the defence of

the province. Who has the most reason on their side, I know not; but I really cannot blame the Quakers for not consenting to such a law, unless the power of putting it in execution should be lodged in the house of assembly, and such officers to be appointed by them.

At six this evening, the Hon. Edmund Jenings, Esq. Col. Thomas Colvill, and Col. Robert King, (being the other honourable commissioners for Maryland) with Mr. Calvert, arrived here, from Col. Colvill's, in Cecil county. We all lodged at Mr. Hughes's, and agreed to set out for Lancaster early in the morning, and to go thither over the Barrens.

Expenses at Mr. Hughes's, paid in silver currency, to the value of £2–17–2, Pennsylvania currency.

*Thursday morning, June* 21, 1744.

Breakfasted before five; then prepared ourselves for riding. Set out from hence with the commissioners, Mr. Calvert, Mr. Gatchel, and our landlord, who undertook to be our guide to Lancaster town. We were joined on the road by some Quakers, who accompanied us to our designed stage.

At eleven o'clock, we arrived at one Sheppard's mill, having rode twenty miles from Nottingham. Here we all baited, and refreshed ourselves with some good neat's tongue, cold ham, and Maderia wine. We eat our repast under a tree, upon a long plank, close to which was a trough, and in that our horses were fed. We rested at this place about an hour and an half, and then pursued our journey to Lancaster. From hence we had a good road, the land being less hilly and stony than that we had rode over in the morning. Here are several large and fine farms, settled by the Germans. They sow all kinds of grain, and have very plentiful harvests. Their houses are chiefly built with stone, and generally seated near some brook or stream of water. They have very large meadows, which produce a great deal of hay, and feed therewith variety of cattle, &c.

*Thursday, P. M.* Arrived at Lancaster town about two o'clock, and put up our horses at Peter Worrall's, who here keeps an inn. Here I bespoke a dinner for our commissioners, and the Maryland gentlemen, which

was soon got ready, to our great comfort. Procured a room and two beds, in Worrall's house, for our chaplain and myself.

Neither the governor of Pennsylvania, nor the Virginia commissioners, were arrived at the time when we did; but about six in the evening they came hither, attended by several Virginia gentlemen, and some from the city of Philadelphia.

Here we were informed that the Indians would not arrive till to-morrow, they marching very slow, occasioned by their having a great many small children and old men.

Messrs. Calvert, Craddock and myself went into, and viewed the court-house of this town. It is a pretty large brick building, two stories high. The ground room, where the justices of this county hold their court, is very spacious. There is a handsome bench, and railed in, whereon they sit, and a chair in the midst of it, which is filled by the judge. Below this bench, is a large table, of half oval form; round this, and under their Worships, sit the county clerk, and the several attorneys of the court, who, here, as well as in most other courts of the plantations, plead as counsellors. There are particular seats and places allotted to the sheriff, crier, &c.

Fronting the justices' bench, and on each side of it, are several long steps, or stairs, raised each above the other, like the steps leading into the north door of St. Paul's. On these steps, stand the several auditors and spectators, when a court is held here. It was on these, that the Indian chiefs sat, when they treated with the several governments. This court-house is capable to contain above 800 persons, without incommoding each other.

When we had surveyed this room, we went up stairs, into one over head. This is a good room, and has a large chimney. In this the justices sit in the month of February, for the convenience of the fire. Adjoining to this room, is a smaller one, where the juries are kept to agree on their verdict.

On the top of the court-house is a kind of cupola. We ascended a ladder, and got into it. From hence we had a complete view of the whole town, and the country several miles round, and likewise of part of Susquehannah river, at twelve miles distance.

This town has not been begun to be built above sixteen years. It is conveniently laid out into sundry streets, and one main street, in the midst of which stands the court-house and market. Through this runs the road to the back country, on Susquehannah. There are several cross streets on each side of the main street, which are indifferently well built, as to quantity of houses.

The inhabitants are chiefly High-Dutch, Scotch-Irish, some few English families, and unbelieving Israelites, who deal very considerably in this place.

The spirit of cleanliness has not as yet in the least troubled the major part of the inhabitants; for, in general, they are very great sluts and slovens. When they clean their houses, which, by the bye, is very seldom, they are unwilling to remove the filth far from themselves, for they place it close to their doors, which in the summer time, breeds an innumerable quantity of bugs, fleas, and vermin.

The religions, which prevail here, are hardly to be numbered. Here are Dutch Calvinists, who have a church built with square logs, and their interspaces filled up with clay. In this, is a small organ, good for little, and worse played on by the organist.

The sect of Luther have a church likewise. This is more spacious than that of the Calvinists, being built of stone, and is much larger than the other. The minister of this church is a gentleman of good character, and by his true pastoral conduct keeps his congregation in good order. The ministers of these Dutch churches are allowed no certain stipend for preaching, but are paid at the will of their hearers. This is a great tie upon them to do their duty, and makes them more diligent than our clergy are. Happy people! in this we may envy them.

A clergyman of the church of England sometimes officiates in the court-house, there being no church here built by those of that persuasion. There are great numbers of Irish Presbyterians, and several Jews, as I hinted before, with divers others, that neither themselves, nor any one else, can tell what sect they follow or imitate.

The houses, for the most part, are built and covered with wood, except some few, which are built of brick and stone. They are generally low, seldom exceeding

two stories. All the owners of lots and houses, here, pay a ground rent, greater or less, according to the grant of them by James Hamilton, Esq. who is the proprietor of the town.

There are hills which environ Lancaster, as likewise some thick woods, which, in the summer, render it very hot, especially in the afternoon. The soil is then dry and very sandy, which, when a fresh wind blows, almost choak the inhabitants.

The water here is very bad, occasioned by their springs, and even wells, being stored with lime-stones. This gave me a looseness, and palled my appetite; but soon left me, after I refrained drinking the water by itself.

They have a very good market in this town, well filled with provisions of all kinds, and prodigiously cheap.

Our commissioners and company supped at Worrall's, and passed away an hour or two very agreeably; after which I retired to bed; but had not long reposed myself, when I was most fiercely attacked by the neighbouring Dutch fleas and bugs, which were ready to devour both me and the minister: however, after killing great quantities of my nimble enemies, I got about two hours' sleep.

Mr. Calvert was more inhumanly used by them than myself, as was likewise Mr. Craddock. On the next night, Mr. Calvert left our lodgings, and laid in the court-house chamber, among the young gentlemen from Virginia, who there had beds made on the floor for that purpose.

*Friday, June 22d*, 1744.

Rose betwixt 4 and 5. Breakfasted with Mr. commissioner Thomas, Colonels Colvill and King, at Worrall's.

The Indian chiefs not being yet come, we had no business to do.

The honourable the commissioners of Virginia gave our commissioners, and the several Maryland gentlemen, an invitation to dine with them in the court-house, which we did, betwixt one and two. During our dinner, the deputies of the Six Nations, with their followers and attendants, to the number of 252, arrived in town. Several of their squaws, or wives, with some small children, rode on horse-back, which is very unusual with them. They brought their fire-arms and bows and arrows, as well as tomahawks. A great concourse of people fol-

lowed them. They marched in very good order, with *Cannasateego*, one of the Onondago chiefs, at their head; who, when he came near to the court-house wherein we were dining, sung, in the Indian language, a song, inviting us to a renewal of all treaties heretofore made, and that now to be made.

Mr. Weiser, the interpreter, who is highly esteemed by the Indians, and is one of their council of state, (though a German by birth) conducted them to some vacant lots in the back part of the town, where sundry poles and boards were placed. Of these, and some boughs of trees from the woods, the Indians made *wigwams*, or cabins, wherein they resided during the treaty. They will not, on any occasion whatsoever, dwell, or even stay, in houses built by white people.

They placed their cabins according to the rank each nation of them holds in their grand council. The *Onondagoes* nation was placed on the right hand and upper end; then the others, according to their several dignities.

After dining, and drinking the loyal healths, all the younger gentlemen of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, went with Mr. Conrad Weiser to the Indian camp, where they had erected their several cabins. We viewed them all, and heartily welcomed *Cannasateego*, and *Tachanuntie*, (alias the Black Prince) two chiefs of the Onondagoes, to town. They shaked us by the hands, and seemed very well pleased with us. I gave them some snuff, for which they returned me thanks in their language.

The first of these sachems (or chiefs) was a tall, well-made man; had a very full chest, and brawny limbs. He had a manly countenance, mixed with a good-natured smile. He was about 60 years of age; very active, strong, and had a surprising liveliness in his speech, which I observed in the discourse betwixt him, Mr. Weiser, and some of the sachems.

*Tachanuntie*, another sachem, or chief of the same nation, was a tall, thin man; old, and not so well featured as Cannasateego: I believe he may be near the same age with him. He is one of the greatest warriors that ever the Five Nations produced, and has been a great war-captain for many years past.

He is also called *the Black Prince*, because, as I was

informed, he was either begotten on an Indian woman by a negro, or by an Indian chief on some negro woman; but by which of the two, I could not be well assured.

The Governor of Canada, (whom these Indians call *Onantio*) will not treat with any of the Six Nations of Indians, unless *Tachanuntie* is personally present, he having a great sway in all the Indian councils.

Our interpreter, Mr. Weiser, desired us, whilst we were here, not to talk much of the Indians, nor laugh at their dress, or make any remarks on their behaviour: if we did, it would be very much resented by them, and might cause some differences to arise betwixt the white people and them. Besides, most of them understood English, though they will not speak it when they are in treaty.

The Indians, in general, were poorly dressed, having old match-coats, and those ragged; few, or no shirts, and those they had, as black as the Scotchman made the *Jamaicans*, when he wrote in his letter they were as black as that ● blot.

When they had rested some little space of time, several of them began to paint themselves with divers sorts of colours, which rendered them frightful. Some of the others rubbed bear's grease on their faces, and then laid upon that a white paint. When we had made a sufficient survey of them and their cabins, we went to the court-house, where the Indians were expected to meet the Governor of Pennsylvania, the Hon. George Thomas, Esq. and to be by him congratulated on their arrival at this town.

*Friday, P. M.* Between 5 and 6 o'clock, Mr. Weiser accompanied the several Indian chiefs from their camp up to the court-house, which they entered and seated themselves after their own manner. Soon after, his Honour the Governor, the honourable the commissioners of Virginia, the honourable the commissioners of Maryland, and the young gentlemen from the three governments, went into the court-house to the Indians. There the Governor, and all the commissioners, severally welcomed the Indians to Lancaster, and shaked hands with the sachems.

Then his Honour seated himself in the chair on the bench, the Virginia commissioners placed themselves,

*to wit*, the Hon. Col. Thomas Lee, and Col. William Beverly, on his right hand, and our honourable commissioners on his left. William Peters, Esq. secretary of Pennsylvania, sat in the middle of the table, under the Governor, and Mr. William Black, secretary to the Virginia commissioners, on his right hand, and myself, as secretary to the commissioners of Maryland, on his left hand.

The Governor desired the interpreter to tell the Indians, "He was very glad to see them here, and should "not trouble them with business this day, but desired "they would rest themselves, after their great journey." This, Mr. Weiser interpreted to them, whereat they seemed well enough pleased, and made the Governor a suitable answer.

When this was done, a good quantity of punch, wine, and pipes and tobacco, were given to the sachems, and the Governor and all the commissioners drank to them, whom they pledged. When they had smoked some small time, and each drank a glass or two of wine and punch, they retired to their cabins.

Our landlord shewed me the book, wherein he keeps the account of the expenses of ours and the Virginia commissioners, and which was ordered to be produced every morning to me, to know exactly the amount of each day's expense.

*Saturday, June 23d*, 1744, *at Lancaster.*

This day I was seized with a lax, and small fever, occasioned by drinking the water of this town.

After breakfast, the Governor, the honourable the commissioners, and several other gentlemen, went to the Dunkers' nunnery, about twelve miles from hence. They returned hither about six in the evening.

All this day the Indians staid in their wigwams; and it is usual for them to rest two days after their journey, before they treat, or do business with the English.

After supper, this evening, I went with Mr. President Logan's son, and divers other young gentlemen, to the Indians' camp, they being then dancing one of their lighter war dances.

They performed it after this manner: Thirty or forty

of the younger men formed themselves into a ring, a fire being lighted (notwithstanding the excessive heat) and burning clear in the midst of them. Near this, sat three elderly Indians, who beat a drum to the time of the others' dancing. Then the dancers hopped round the ring, after a frantic fashion, not unlike the priests of Bacchus in old times, and repeated, sundry times, these sounds, *Yohoh! Bugh!* Soon after this, the major part of the dancers (or rather hoppers) set up a horrid shriek or halloo!

They continued dancing and hopping, after this manner, several hours, and rested very seldom. Once, whilst I staid with them, they did rest themselves; immediately thereupon, the three old men began to sing an Indian song, the tune of which was not disagreeable to the white by-standers. Upon this, the young warriors renewed their terrible shriek and halloo, and formed themselves into a ring, environing the three old ones, and danced as before. Mr. Calvert, myself, and some others slipped through the dancers, and stood near the fire; and when the drum-beaters ceased their noise, we shaked them by the hand. Here we presented some clean pipes to them, which were very acceptable, most of the Indians being great smokers of tobacco. A *Conestogoe* or *Susquehannah* Indian, stood without the circle, and importuned the white by-standers to give money to the young children, which was done. Whilst this diversion happened, some High-Dutch, belonging to the town, brought their guns with them to the camp; which being perceived by the *Conestogoe*, he informed us, it would be very displeasing to the Indians, who would resent it, though brought thither with ever so innocent an intent; therefore desired us to tell the Germans to withdraw, and leave their musquets out of their sight, otherwise some bad consequences might ensue. We complied with his request, and made the Germans retire.

From the camp I went to Worrall's, and sat up till eleven o'clock; to whose house I heard the Indian drum, and the warriors repeating their terrible noise and dancing; and at this sport of theirs, they continued till near one in the morning.

These young men are surprisingly agile, strong, and

straight limbed. They shoot, both with the gun and bow and arrow, most dexterously. They likewise throw their tomahawk (or little hatchet) with great certainty, at an indifferent large object, for twenty or thirty yards distance. This weapon they use against their enemies, when they have spent their powder and ball, and destroy many of them with it.

The chiefs, who were deputed to treat with the English by their different nations, were very sober men, which is rare for an Indian to be so, if he can get liquor. They behaved very well, during our stay amongst them, and sundry times refused drinking in a moderate way. Whenever they renew old treaties of friendship, or make any bargain about lands they sell to the English, they take great care to abstain from intoxicating drink, for fear of being overreached; but when they have finished their business, then some of them will drink without measure.

*Sunday, June 24th*, 1744.

Mr. Commissioner Jenings ordered me to copy the speech to be made by him, in the name of the governor of Maryland, to the Indians, in the court-house, tomorrow morning. This, and transcribing some copies of it, busied me so much that I could not go to the court-house, where divine service, according to the church of England, was performed by my fellow-traveller, the Rev. Mr. Craddock, to a numerous audience, this day. He also preached a very good sermon, which met the approbation of the several gentlemen present.

His Honour the Governor invited Mr. Craddock to dine with him, which he did, and received a hearty welcome.

Betwixt 1 and 2, our honourable commissioners, and those of Virginia, dined in the court-house, and the gentlemen of both their governments; after which, the office of the day was again performed by another minister of the established church. He gave us an excellent sermon, and expatiated very feelingly on the too prevalent vices of the age. He used plain language, and thereby fitted his discourse for all capacities, by which all might truly edify, if they had any grace, or good disposition thereto.

In the evening, walked to the Indian camp, where they were dancing in the manner described last night,

only the number of dancers was augmented, they having taken in several small boys, to make a larger ring.

Betwixt 8 and 9, this night, supped with my brother secretary, Mr. Black, in his lodgings at Mr. George Sanderson's. We had pleasant company, good wine, and lime-punch. From hence I went to Worrall's, where, in my room, three very impudent Indian traders had taken possession of my bed, and caused another to be there made ; but after some disputes, our landlord made these scoundrels quit their beds, and leave the parson and myself in quiet possession.

These traders, for the most part, are as wild as some of the most savage Indians, amongst whom they trade for skins, fur, &c. for sundry kinds of European goods, and strong liquors. They go back in the country, above 300 miles from the white inhabitants ; here they live with the Indian hunters till they have disposed of their cargoes ; and then, on horses, carry their skins, &c. to Philadelphia, where they are bought by the merchants there, and from thence exported to London. It is a very beneficial trade, though hazardous to their persons and lives ; for the weather is so excessively cold where they trade, which is near the lakes of Canada, and their cabins so poorly made to defend themselves from the bitter winters, that they often perish : and on the other hand, they are liable to the insults and savage fury of the drunken Indians, by selling to them rum, and other spirituous liquors. The government, as yet, have not provided a law, prohibiting the selling such liquors, although it has been pressed by his Honour, who is but too sensible of the ill effects produced by the Indian traders carrying so much to barter with the hunters of the Six-Nations.

I rested well, after dispossessing these intruding guests ; but this happened by my giving orders to my landlord's servants, this morning, to wash our room with cold water, and take my bed from its bedstead, and lay it on the floor ; and by this means the bugs and fleas were defeated of their prey.

*Monday morning, 25th June*, 1744.

At 10 o'clock, the Indian sachems met the Governor, the honourable commissioners of Virginia, and those of

this province, when his Honour made them a speech,* to which Cannasateego returned an answer in behalf of all the others present.

The Indians staid in the court-house about two hours; and were regaled with some bumbo and sangree.

The honourable commissioners from Virginia and Maryland dined in the court-house, as did the gentleman of both governments; we had two tables, and a great variety of victuals; our company being about thirty in number.

*In the court-house, on Monday, P. M.*

The Governor, and all the honourable commissioners, resumed their several seats here; and then the chiefs came in, and took their places.

Edmund Jenings, Esq. as first commissioner for Maryland, made a speech to the Six Nations, which was interpreted to them by Mr. Weiser. Whilst Mr. Jenings delivered his speech, he gave the interpreter a string and two belts of wampum, which were by him presented to the sachem Cannasateego; and the Indians thereupon gave the cry of approbation; by this we were sure the speech was well approved by the Indians. This cry is usually made on presenting wampum to the Indians in a treaty, and is performed thus: The grand chief and speaker amongst them pronounces the word *jo-bab!* with a loud voice, singly; then all the others join in this sound, *woh!* dwelling some little while upon it, and keeping exact time with each other, and immediately, with a sharp noise and force, utter this sound, *wugh!* This is performed in great order, and with the utmost ceremony and decorum; and with the Indians is like our English huzza!

*Monday evening in the court-house chamber.*

I supped with the Governor, the honourable commissioners, and the gentlemen of Philadelphia, who attended his Honour to this town. We had an elegant entertainment; and after supper the Governor was extremely merry, and thereby set an example of agreeable

* See the speech and answer, in the treaty, printed at Philadelphia, and Williamsburg in Virginia.

mirth, which ran through the whole company. During this merriment, two Germans happened to pass by the court-house with a harp and fiddle, and played some tunes under the window of our room: upon that, they were ordered to come up stairs, where the Governor required them to divert us, which they did, but not with the harmony of their music, (for that was very uncouth and displeasing to us, who had heard some of the best bands in England) but by playing a tune, of some sort, to a young Indian, who danced a jig with Mr. Andrew Hamilton, in a most surprising manner. At nine o'clock, the Governor and commissioners left us; and then the younger persons raised their jollity by dancing in the Indian dress, and after their manner.

*Tuesday, 26th June.*

Copied fair the proceedings of yesterday with the Indians, as also Gov. Thomas's speech to them, which were transmitted to his Excellency Thomas Bladen, Esq. Governor of Maryland, by Mr. Commissioner Jenings.

We dined in the court-house; and soon after I received orders from the above commissioner, to acquaint all the Maryland gentlemen, "That they should desist going into "the court-house this afternoon, during our treaty with "the Six Nations." Pursuant to which order, I informed the gentlemen of our commissioners' pleasure, at which the first were much disgusted, as were the Virginia gentlemen, who had the same commands laid on them by the secretary of their commissioners.

*Five o'clock, P. M.* His Honour the Governor of Pennsylvania, and the honourable the commissioners of Virginia and Maryland, met the Indian chiefs in the court-house, when Cannasateego answered our speech of yesterday, and presented a string and two belts of wampum: which being done, the further execution of the treaty was adjourned until the next day.

By order of our commissioners, and at the request of Mr. Weiser, the interpreter, I bought half a gross of tobacco pipes, to be presented to the Indians at their camp, which was accordingly done, and they seemed well pleased at the gift, such pipes being scarce with them.

*Wednesday 27th June.*

After breakfast, viewed Mr. Worrall's book of our expenses, which we settled; and the whole amount thereof, from the 20th instant to this day, was £46–0–5, Pennsylvania currency.——N. B. Mr. Worrall's account for the negroes' expenses was not included in the above sum.

This day our commissioners wrote a letter to our Governor, giving him an account of their transactions with the Indians, which I fairly copied by their order.

*P. M. 5 o'clock.* The Governor, and all the honourable commissioners, again met, and treated with the Six Nations, in the court-house, when Tachanuntie, the famous Black Prince, (mentioned before) answered the speech made yesterday by the Hon. Col. Lee, one of the Virginia commissioners; and in token that it was well received and approved by the chiefs, Tachanuntie presented one string and two belts of wampum to his Majesty's commissioners of Virginia. Then Mr. Commissioner Jenings desired the interpreter to ask the Indians if they would be ready for a conference to-morrow morning, in the court-house chamber, with the commissioners of Maryland; which he did, and the Indians answered, that they would meet for that purpose, as desired.

At 8 o'clock, this evening, I went, with three of our honourable commissioners, to a ball in the court-house chamber; to which his Honour the Governor of Pennsylvania, the commissioners of Virginia and Maryland, and the gentlemen of the several colonies, with sundry inhabitants of this town, were invited.

James Hamilton, Esq. the proprietor of Lancaster, made the ball, and opened it, by dancing two minuets with two of the ladies here, which last danced wilder time than any Indians.

Our music and musicians were the same as described last Monday evening.

The females (I dare not call them ladies, for that would be a profanation of the name) were, in general, very disagreeable. The dancers consisted of Germans and Scotch-Irish; but there were some Jewesses, who had not long since come from New-York, that made a tolerable appearance, being well dressed, and of an agreeable behaviour.

There was a large and elegant supper prepared in the court-house chamber, of which the Governor, some of the honourable commissioners, and the female dancers, first eat: then the other gentlemen in order, and afterwards the younger gentlemen. The dances were concluded about 12 o'clock; but myself, with several others of the younger sort, staid till after one in the morning.

*Thursday, 28th June*, 1744, *A. M.*

At 9 this morning, the commissioners of Maryland and the Six Nations met in the court-house chamber, according to agreement of yesterday.

Here we opened the several bales and boxes of goods, to be presented the Indians, they having been bought at Philadelphia, and sent hither for that end.

Before the chiefs viewed and handled the several goods, Mr. Commissioner Jenings made them a speech in the name of the Governor of Maryland, with which, after it was interpreted to them by Mr. Weiser, they seemed well pleased.

The chiefs turned over, and narrowly inspected the goods, and asked the prices of them; which being told them, they seemed somewhat dissatisfied; and desired to go down into the court-house, to consult among themselves, (which is their usual method, if it concerns any matter of importance, as this was, for they must give a particular account of their whole negotiation to their several tribes, when they return) with their interpreter. They did so; and after some time came up again, and agreed with our commissioners to release their claim and right to any lands now held by the inhabitants of Maryland, and for which the said Indians were not heretofore satisfied, in consideration of the following goods, viz.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4 pieces of strouds, at £ 7 | £ 28 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 pieces ditto, £ 5, | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| 200 shirts, | 63 | 12 | 0 |
| 3 pieces half thicks, | 11 | 0 | 0 |
| 3 ditto duffle blankets, at £ 7, | 21 | 0 | 0 |
| 1 ditto, ditto, | 6 | 10 | 0 |
| 47 guns, at £ 1–6–0, | 61 | 2 | 0 |
| 1lb. vermilion, | 0 | 18 | 0 |
| *Carried over*, | £ 202 | 2 | 0 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Brought over,* | £202 | 2 | 0 |
| 1000 flints, | 0 | 18 | 0 |
| 4 doz. jews-harps, | 0 | 14 | 0 |
| 1 doz. boxes, | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 1 cwt. 2 qrs. 0 lb. bar lead, | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 qrs. shot, | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 half barrels gun-powder, | 13 | 0 | 0 |
| Pennsylvania money. | £220 | 15 | 0 |

The above quantity of goods were accordingly given the Indians, as agreed on by both parties; after which, our commissioners ordered me to go to Mr. Worrall, and desire him to send some punch for the sachems, which was accordingly done; and after they had severally drank health to the commissioners, and the compliment returned by the latter, the Indians retired to their wigwams, and the honourable commissioners went to their lodgings about 12 o'clock.

*Post Meridiem.* The commissioners of Virginia had a private treaty with the chiefs, in the court-house, when Col. Lee made them a speech; which see in the printed Treaty, fol. 20, 21, 22.

In the evening, about 7 o'clock, I accompanied my friend, Col. Nathan Rigbie, to the Indian cabins, where, having collected several of their papooses (or little children) together, he slung a handful of English half-pennies amongst them, for which they scrambled heartily, and with the utmost earnestness. This pleased the elder sort very much; and they esteem it a great mark of friendship, if the white people make presents to their children, or treat them with any particular notice. I gave the papooses some small beads, which were kindly received. The young men, this night, again danced a war-dance, as described on Saturday last; at which were present a great number of white people. When the colonel and myself had taken a view of the Onondagoes', Cahugas' and Senecas' cabins, he went from me to the ring of dancers, and then I went to a cabin, where I heard the celebrated Mrs. Montour, a French lady, (but now, by having lived so long among the Six Nations, is become almost an Indian) had her residence. When I approach-

ed the wigwam, I saluted her in French, and asked her whether she was not born in Canada? of what parents? and whether she had not lived a long time with the Indians? She answered me in the same language very civilly, and after some compliments were passed betwixt us, told me, in a polite manner, "That she was born in "Canada, whereof her father (who was a French gentle- "man) had been Governor; under whose administration, "the then Five Nations of Indians had made war against "the French, and the Hurons in that government, (whom "we term the French Indians, from espousing their part "against the English, and living in Canada) and that, in "the war, she was taken by some of the Five Nations' "warriors, being then about ten years of age; and by "them was carried away into their country, where she "was habited and brought up in the same manner as their "children: That when she grew up to years of maturity, "she was married to a famous war captain of those na- "tions who was in great esteem for the glory he procured "in the wars he carried on against the Catawbas, a great "nation of Indians to the south-west of Virginia, by whom "she had several children; but about fifteen years ago, "he was killed in a battle with them; since which, she "has not been married: That she had little or no remem- "brance of the place of her birth, nor indeed of her pa- "rents, it being near fifty years since she was ravished "from them by the Indians."

She has been a handsome woman, genteel, and of polite address, notwithstanding her residence has been so long among the Indians; though formerly she was wont to accompany the several chiefs, who used to renew treaties of friendship with the proprietor and governor of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, the metropolis of that province; and being a white woman, was there very much caressed by the gentlewomen of that city, with whom she used to stay for some time. She retains her native language, by conversing with the Frenchmen who trade for fur, skins, &c. among the six nations; and our language she learned at Philadelphia, as likewise of our traders, who go back into the Indians' country. In her cabin were two of her daughters, by the war-captain, who were both married to persons of the same station, and were then gone to war with the Catawbas before

mentioned. One of these young women had a son, about five years old, who, I think, was one of the finest-featured and limbed children mine eyes ever saw, and was not so tawny, or greased, as the other Indian children were; but, on the contrary, his cheeks were ruddy, mixed with a delicate white, had eyes and hair of an hazel colour, and was neatly dressed in a green ban-jan, and his other garments were suitable.

Madame Montour has but one son, who, for his prowess and martial exploits, was lately made a captain, and a member of the Indian council, and is now gone to war against the Catawbas, with her son-in-law.

She is in great esteem with the best sort of white people, and by them always treated with abundance of civility; and whenever she went to Philadelphia, (which formerly she did pretty often) the ladies of that city always invited her to their houses, entertained her well, and made her several presents.

From this cabin, when I had taken leave of Mrs. Montour and her daughters, I returned to the dancers, who were continuing their mirth; and afterwards returned to my lodgings.

*Friday, June the 29th*, 1744, *A. M.*

Our commissioners and the Six Nations had a private conference in the court-house chamber, when they jointly proceeded to settle the bounds and quantity of land the latter were to release to Lord Baltimore, in Maryland; but the Indians, not very well apprehending our commissioners, in their demand respecting the bounds of the lands to be released, occasioned a great delay in the finishing of that business; however, it was wholly settled in the afternoon, upon Mr. Weiser's conference with the Governor of Pennsylvania, his Majesty's commissioners of Virginia, and those of Maryland, and also with the Indians in council, where he debated the matter more fully; and explained our commissioners' demands in so clear a manner, that they came to such an amicable determination, as proved agreeable to each party. We again presented the sachems, here with bumbo punch, with which they drank prosperity and success to their Father, the great King over the waters, and to the healths of our commissioners.

This day we dined at our landlord Worrall's; and it was agreed, by the commissioners of Maryland, to invite all the Six Nations' chiefs, to dine with them, in company with the Governor and Virginia commissioners, to-morrow, in the court-house; against which time, orders were given to prepare a large and elegant entertainment.

In the evening I went with Col. Rigbie, and other gentlemen, to visit one Mr. Adams, a German doctor, who, we understood, had got an organ; but it was with the greatest importunity he would favour us in playing a tune, telling us, that unless he himself was possessed with a strong desire to play, he could oblige no body; yet, seeing we were so very importunate, he at last complied, and strummed over three or four High-Dutch psalm tunes, to which he sang the words, in the most enthusiastic raptures. For my part, what with the horrid noise he made on the organ, and his horse-voice, I never suffered so great an anticipation of pleasure in hearing music, or, at least, a musical instrument, in my whole life. When he had finished his rapturous fit of noise, he acquainted us, that he had been a consummate rake in his more youthful days; but soon after he married, turned himself to a sober and religious life, and praised his Maker several hours in a day, by playing on, and singing to his organ. He seemed to us to be a perfect enthusiast; and, upon inquiry among his neighbours, he has borne that character ever since he took to himself a wife. Being very much tired with his cant and noise, we at last took our leaves of him, though not before inviting him to drink a glass of wine with us at our lodgings; but he desired to be excused accepting our invitation, at which we were not displeased, since we might have expected his visit would have proved very troublesome.

*Saturday, 30th June*, 1744, *A. M.*

Mr Commissioner Jenings having this morning drawn a deed of release from the chiefs of the Six Nations for the lands they claim in Maryland, to the use of Lord Baltimore, sent for me to engross it, which I so did, pursuant to his order, about nine o'clock.

At ten, his Majesty's commissioners had a conference

with the Indians in the court-house chamber, to which no other persons than themselves were admitted.

*One o'clock, P. M.* The twenty-four chiefs of the Six Nations, by invitation of yesterday from the honourable commissioners of Maryland, dined with them in the court-house; when were present, at other tables, his Honour the Governor of Pennsylvania, the honourable commissioners of Virginia, and a great many gentlemen of the three colonies. There were a large number of the inhabitants of Lancaster likewise present to see the Indians dine.

We had five tables, great variety of dishes, and served up in very good order. The sachems sat at two separate tables; at the head of one, the famous orator, Cannasateego, sat, and the others were placed according to their rank. As the Indians are not accustomed to eat in the same manner as the English, or other polite nations do, we, who were secretaries on this affair, with Mr. Thomas Cookson, prothonotary of Lancaster county, William Logan, Esq. son of Mr. President Logan, and Mr. Nathaniel Rigbie, of Baltimore county, in Maryland, carved the meat for them, served them with cider and wine, mixed with water, and regulated the economy of the two tables. The chiefs seemed prodigiously pleased with their feast, for they fed lustily, drank heartily, and were very greasy before they finished their dinner, for, by the bye, they made no use of their forks. The interpreter, Mr. Weiser, stood betwixt the table, where the governor sat, and that, at which the sachems were placed, who, by order of his Honour, was desired to inform the Indians he drank their healths, which he did; whereupon they gave the usual cry of approbation, and returned the compliment, by drinking health to his Honour and the several commissioners.

After dinner, the interpreter informed the Governor and commissioners, "That as the Lord Proprietary and "Governor of Maryland was not known to the Indians by "any particular name, they had agreed, in council, to take "the first opportunity of a large company to present him "with one: And, as this with them was a matter of great "consequence, and attended with abundance of form, the "several nations had drawn lots for the performance of

"the ceremony; and the lot falling on the Cāhūga na-
"tion, they had chosen Gāchrādōdŏn, one of their chiefs,
"to be their speaker, and he desired leave to begin;
which being given, he, on an elevated part of the court-
house, with all the dignity of a warrior, the gesture of an
orator, and in a very graceful posture, spoke as follows:

"As the Governor of Maryland has invited us here, to
"treat about our lands, and brighten the chain of friend-
"ship, the united Six Nations think themselves so much
"obliged to him, that we have come to a resolution, in
"council, to give the great man, who is proprietor of Ma-
"ryland, a particular name, by which we may hereafter
"correspond with him: And as it hath fallen to the Cahu-
"gaes' lot in council to consider of a proper name for that
"chief man, we have agreed to give him the name of
"Tōcărў-hō-gōn, denoting Precedency, Excellency, or
"living in the middle, or honourable place, betwixt As-
"serigoa, and our brother Onas, by whom our treaties
"may be the better carried on."

And then, addressing himself to his Honour the Gover-
nor of Pennsylvania, the honourable the commissioners
of Virginia and Maryland, and to the gentlemen then
present, he added:

"As there is a company of great men now assembled,
"we take this opportunity to publish this matter, that it
"may be known Tocary-ho-gon is our friend, and that we
"are ready to honour him, and that by such name he may
"be always called and known among us; and, we hope,
"he will ever act towards us, according to the excellence
"of the name we have now given him, and enjoy a long
"and happy life."

When the speech was ended, all the other chiefs ex-
pressed their assent, and great satisfaction at what was
said to our commissioners, insomuch that they sent forth
five several cries of approbation.

Gachradodon having finished his complimentary ora-
tion, Mr. Commissioner Jenings, in the name of the
other commissioners, and on behalf of Lord Baltimore,
spoke in reply to the sachem: "That his Lordship was
much obliged "to the six nations for distinguishing him
"by the name of Tocaryhogon, esteeming it a mark of
kindness and honour: That his Lordship would en-

"tertain the most unfeigned friendship for them; and "that the government of Maryland would ever be ready "and desirous to render them its best offices, conducive "to their tranquillity and undisturbed safety;" which Mr. Weiser, by command, interpreted to the Indians; and at the same time was ordered to acquaint them, that the governor and the commissioners were then preparing to drink his Majesty's health; all which was done, and the chiefs expressed a sincere joy by their cry of approbation, and drank the same in bumpers of Madeira wine. The governor, commissioners, and indeed all the persons present, except the Indians, gave three several huzzas, after the English manner, on drinking the King's health; which a good deal surprised them, they having never before heard the like noise.

Upon ending the ceremony of drinking healths, the governor and commissioners retired some little time; but within an hour, the commissioners of Virginia and Maryland entered the court-house, and afterwards went up into the chamber, as likewise the several chiefs, Mr. Weiser, and a great many of the young gentlemen. Here, by order of our commissioners, I produced the engrossed release for the lands, with the seals fixed. We were obliged to put about the glass pretty briskly; and then Mr. Weiser interpreted the contents of it to the sachems, who, conferring amongst themselves about the execution of it, the major part of them seemed very inclinable to sign and deliver it; but upon Shukelemy, an Oneydoe chief's remonstrance, some of the others, with himself, refused, for that day, executing it; which refusal of Shukelemy, we imputed, and that not without reason, to some sinister and under-hand means, made use of by the Pennsylvanians, to induce the sachems not to give up their right to the lands by deed, without having a larger consideration given them, by the province of Maryland, than what was specified in the release. Shukelemy, who before, we had esteemed one of our fastest friends, put us under a deep surprise and confusion, by his unfair behaviour; yet we, in some measure, extricated ourselves out of them, by the honest Cannasateego's, and the other sachems, to the number of sixteen, delivering the deed after the forms customary with the

English, to which there were a great many gentlemen signed their names as witnesses. Weiser assured the commissioners, that he, with Cannasateego and some other chiefs, would so effectually represent the unfair dealing of Shukelemy, and his partisans in council, that he did not doubt to induce him and them totally to finish this business on Monday next, maugre all the insinuations and misrepresentations agitated by the enemies of Maryland; and indeed Mr. Interpreter proved successful, as is evident in the transactions of Monday, and may be seen in the printed treaty.

*Monday, July the 2d*, 1744, *A. M.*

The honourable commissioners of Maryland, with Mr. Weiser, met at the house of George Sanderson, in this town, when the several chiefs, who had not signed the deed of release, and renunciation of their claim to lands in Maryland, did now cheerfully, and without any hesitation, execute the same, in the presence of the commissioners and Mr. Weiser; which latter they caused to sign and deliver it on behalf of a nation not present, both with his Indian name of Tarachiawagon, and that of Weiser. Thus we happily effected the purchase of the lands in Maryland, by the dexterous management of the interpreter, notwithstanding the storm on Saturday, that threatened to blast our measures; and hereby gained not only some hundred thousand acres of land to Lord Baltimore, who had no good right to them before this release, but an undisturbed and quiet enjoyment of them to the several possessors, who, in fact, had bought of that Lord's agent.

The names of the chiefs, who signed and delivered the deed, were,

Cannasateego, Tacanoontia, Johnuhat, Caxhayion, Toruchdadon, Netokanyhak, and Rotierawuchto, sachems of the Onondago nation.

Saguchsonyunt, Gachradodon, Hutasalyakon, Rowanhohiso, Osochquah, and Seyenties, sachems of the Cahugäes.

Swadamy, alias Shukelemy, Onichnaxqua, Onochkallydawy, alias Watsatuha, Tohashwanrarorows, Arughhocththaw, and Tiorhaasery, sachems of the Oneydöes.

Sidowax, Attiusgu, Tuwaiadachquha, sachems of the Tuscaroröes.

Tanasanegos, and Tanachiuntus, chiefs of the Senikers, or Senecäes.

The deed was delivered by Mr. Commissioner Jenings, on his return to Annapolis, to his clerk, Mr. Richard Burdus, who recorded it among the land records, in the provincial court office of Maryland, in libro. E.I. fo. 8, 9, 10, 11.

This morning the Governor met the Indians on business, and Cannasateego answered his Honour's speech made to the Indians on Thursday last, relating to the murder of John Armstrong and his two men, Indian traders. The chief said, "That the Indians were, from the "bottom of their hearts, very sorry such a misfortune "had happened; but hoped their brother Onas would "dry up his tears, and wipe his eyes: That they would "send the two Delawares down to Philadelphia, who "were suspected to be, and charged as accessaries to the "murder, though they really believed them guiltless; for "they assured the Governor, that on the trial of the In-"dian in Philadelphia gaol, committed for perpetrating "Armstrong's and his men's murder, it would appear, "that he was the sole person who did the horrid deed: "however, to comply with the Governor's request, they "would send the Delawares, (but not as prisoners) to be "examined and tried; and if they were found guilty, to "suffer as the English law prescribes; but if innocent, "then to return them safe to the Six Nations." His Honour, in return, said, "That great care should be ta-"ken to do the Delawares all the justice in the world: "and if, upon a fair trial, they should be acquitted, he "would send them in safety to their own homes."

The Indians gave the Governor four strings of wampum, and he, in return presented them with three strings. But for a more particular account of Armstrong and his men's murder, see the treaty at large.

In the afternoon, the honourable commissioners of Virginia had a conference with the Indians in the court-house chamber, when a deed, in the nature of ours, releasing their claim to a large quantity of land, lying in

that colony, was produced by Mr. Weiser to the sachems for execution, which was signed and delivered by them in the presence of divers gentlemen of the three colonies, who were witnesses to the same. Wine and sangree was presented to the chiefs, who drank to the continuation of the friendship betwixt them, and his Majesty's subjects in Virginia. After the deed was executed, Cannasateego, commanded the young Indian men, then present, to entertain the Governor and commissioners, in the evening, with a particular dance, according to the custom of their nations; which was complied with about 8 o'clock. Before they performed the dance, I went to their camp, where I saw the young warriors paint themselves in a frightful manner, and on their heads place a great quantity of feathers. They took arrows and tomahawks in their hands, and then unanimously ran out of their camp, hallooing and shrieking (which was terrible to us, being strangers) up the street to Mr. Cookson's, where the Governor was: and there they made a ring, a person being placed in it, and danced round him to a horrid noise, made by the inclosed person, and the others. In this manner they continued some time, flourishing their weapons, and striving to destroy him in the ring. When they had acted thus about seven or eight minutes, then their captain ran before them, very swift, to another place, about twenty or thirty yards distance from Mr. Cookson's, and there acted the same over again. This was a representation of the Indians besieging a fort of their enemies, (who have no cannon) the person in the midst of the circle representing the fort besieged, and the Indians encircling him, the besiegers: and as it happens sometimes, that they are beaten from a fort when besieging it, so their running away, as described above, was the manner of their retreat. As soon as the Indians recovered their fatigue, they renewed the attack of the supposed fort. When they had finished the siege, and the Governor and commissioners had treated them with sangree, they immediately retired to their wigwams.

*Tuesday, 3d July,* 1744.

At 11 o'clock, this morning, the Governor, and all the honourable commissioners, had a meeting with the Six

Nations in the court-house, when his Honour made a speech to them, as did the commissioners of Virginia and Maryland; and each party presented strings and belts of wampum; on receipt of which, the Indians gave the usual cry of approbation, and in a stronger and more cheerful tone than heretofore. They were served with plenty of rum at the conclusion of the speeches, and drank it with good *goût*.

*Wednesday, 4th July*, 1744.

The Indian chiefs assembled in the court-house, and the Governor and commissioners met them there, when the speeches made yesterday, by the latter gentlemen, were answered by the Indian orators. After this, the chiefs made a present of a large bundle of deer-skins to his Honour, the commissioners of Virginia, and to those of Maryland, which were kindly accepted. The Governor, commissioners of Virginia, and the white bystanders, gave three loud huzzas, and thereby put an end to the treaty in regard to them.

*In the Afternoon. Court-House.*

The Shawanese nation of Indians, who compose the sixth body amongst these Indians, in the year 1742, came down to Maryland, on the eastern shore of that province, to a nation of our friendly Indians, and tributary to the Six Nations, called the Nanticokes, from inhabiting near a river of that name; and, by their artifices, persuaded them to rise upon the English, to recover all the lands that had been formerly theirs, but now possessed by the English, under Lord Baltimore; at the same time promising the Nanticokes all the assistance in the power of them, the Shawanese, though they were in perfect friendship with us, by the treaty made during the administration of the Hon. Charles Calvert, Esq. who, giving ear, but too unwarily, to the Shawanese, did intend to have put in practice the wicked scheme of destroying the white inhabitants of that shore; but their machinations were opportunely discovered, by one of the Nanticoke chiefs, a day or two before they were to have perpetrated the intended murders of the English. Upon this, the militia of the counties were raised; who, after a great and close search, took 68 Nanticoke chiefs prisoners, with old Pan-

quash, their emperor; and they were brought to Annapolis in sloops, and there examined and confined, but afterwards set at liberty. As these actions of the Shawanese (who, indeed, are the most dishonest and treacherous of all the other Six Nations, and for that reason hated by them) were contrary to the treaties then subsisting betwixt us, and them as a part of the Six Nations, the commissioners took an opportunity, in a private conference with them this afternoon, "to ask them the "reason of the Shawnese's procedure, and whether they "had any countenance from other nations? and also "desired the chiefs, then present, to search this business "fully, and reprimand the criminal Shawnese, who were "more blameable than the deluded Nanticokes." The Six Nations, by their orator, said, "that they were heart-"ily sorry for what the Shawanese had done; but, on "their return to Onondago, they would make a strict "inquiry of the whole affair; and if they found them so "culpable as we alleged they were, then they would se-"verely reprimand them for their treacherous behaviour, "contrary to the faith of treaties." When this answer was finished, our commissioners shook the several chiefs by the hand, and took their leaves of them, presenting Gachradodon with a fine laced hat.

This Gachradodon is a very celebrated warrior, and one of the Cahuga chiefs, about forty years of age, tall, straight-limbed, and a graceful person, but not so fat as Cannasateego. His action, when he spoke, was certainly the most graceful, as well as bold, that any person ever saw; without the buffoonery of the French, or over-solemn deportment of the haughty Spaniards. When he made the complimentary speech (page 194) on the occasion of giving Lord Baltimore the name of Tocaryhogan, he was complimented by the Governor, who said, "that he would have made a good figure in the forum of old Rome." And Mr. Commissioner Jenings declared, "that he had never seen so just an action in any of the most celebrated orators he had heard speak."

*Thursday, 5th July,* 1744.

This morning, Mr. Peters, secretary to the Governor, Mr. Black, secretary to the honourable commissioners of Virginia, and myself, examined the whole treaty, and

finished all matters any way relating to it. At 12, Colonels Colvill and King, with the Virginia commissioners, settled our accounts with Mr. Worrall. Here we dined, and immediately afterwards mounted our horses, and went from this filthy town to our kind, facetious landlord's, Mr. Hughes, at Nottingham township, by the Gap-Road, so called from a space or gap being open in the ridge of blue mountains, which extend a great way to the south-westward of Virginia, and north-eastward of Pennsylvania.

I was so fatigued with my journey, which was forty-four miles, and the weather was so very sultry, withal, having no good accommodations on the road, that several of us were seized with a fever. Lay at Mr. Hughes's, where good care was taken of me by my kind host.

*Friday, 6th July*, 1744.

Breakfasted at Mr. Hughes's; and about eight in the morning set out for Mr. Benjamin Chew's, in Cecil county, after having taken leave of the honourable commissioners of Virginia, and the several young gentlemen of that colony, with the latter of whom I had contracted a friendship, and received many civilities from them. My horse tired in my journey to Mr. Chew's, though it was but ten miles. Here I rested this day and night, ny fever continuing, and my horse still remaining lame.

*Saturday, 7th of July*, 1744.

Went from Mr. Chew's about six this morning: crossed the lower ferry of Susquehannah: baited at Mr. Treadway's ordinary, and arrived at Joppa about 11 o'clock. Ferried from thence over Gunpowder river to Mr. Day's, where I dined. From hence proceeded to Baltimore town, where I rested at the Reverend Mr. Benedict Bourdillon's; staid and drank tea with him and his lady, and then went over Potapscoe river to Mrs. Hughes's ordinary, where I lodged this night.

*Sunday, 8th July*, 1744.

After breakfast, about six this morning, went from hence to Annapolis, with Mr. William Dallam, and arrived there at ten o'clock.

The end of my Journal.

WITHAM MARSHE,
*Sec'ry to the Hon. Commis. of Maryland.*

A List of the several Public Offices, Ecclesiastical Preferments, and other Places of Profit, in the Province of Maryland, with their Revenues; in whose Distribution, as a Proprietary Government.

CHARLES Lord Baltimore, Proprietor. *Sterl.*

Gift of the Proprietor. Governor, appointed by Proprietor, approved by his Majesty, . . £1550

But if the government was in the hands of the Crown, the Governor would receive more, . . . 500

Proprietor. Commissary-General, his office worth 900

Proprietor. Secretary's office, . . . . 800

Proprietor. Six naval offices, at £150 each, . 900

Proprietor by his Governor. Thirteen Shrievalties, at £200 each, 2600

☞ These are thriving offices, and in time of peace are worth more than £200 per ann. com. annis.

Gift of the Secretary. Thirteen County Clerkships, grantable for life, at £115 per ann. but more in peaceable times, . . 1495

Lords of the Treasury. Collectorship for the district of Patuxent, . . . . . 300

☞ There are 3 others, but know not their value.

Four Deputy-Collectorships, in the gift of the several collectors, . 100

Three Trustees or Commissioners of the Loan Office, appointed by the Governor, . . . . . 120

Their Clerk's salary, . . . 40

*Ecclesiastical Preferments.*

Thirty-seven Parishes, in the Proprietor's gift, at £120 each, . . . . . 4440

Note. If the clergy are once inducted, no one can turn them out, let their behaviour be ever so scandalous, for there is no spiritual court, nor has any Bishop power to control them in Maryland, the Proprietor being head of the church, &c.

*Carried over,* £13,745

| | |
|---|---|
| *Brought over,* | £13,745 |
| Treasurers of the two shores, . . . . | 250 |
| Clerkship of the Council, . . . . | 160 |
| Clerkship of the House of Delegates, in their gift, | 50 |
| Armory-Keeper, salary, net, . . . . | 40 |
| Register of the Commissary-General, in his gift, | 80 |
| Clerkship of the Secretary's office, in Sec'ry's gift, | 65 |
| | £14,390 |

Besides the places and benefices here particularly enumerated, there are sundry small gifts of profit, which, in the whole, may amount to a considerable sum.

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## Union of the British American Colonies, as proposed in the year 1754.

PLAN* of a proposed union of the several colonies of Massachusetts-Bay, New-Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-York, and New-Jersey, for their mutual defence and security, and for extending the British settlements northward and westward of said colonies, in North-America; recommended by commissioners from several colonies, met in congress, at Albany, June 14, 1754.

Present,

| | |
|---|---|
| Lieut. Gov. De Lancey, Messrs. Murray, Johnson, Chambers and Smith, | New-York. |
| Messrs. Welles, Hutchinson, Chandler, Partridge, and Worthington, | Massachusetts-Bay. |
| Messrs. Wibird, Atkinson, Weare, and Sherburne, | New-Hampshire. |
| Lieut. Gov. Pitkin, Maj. Woolcot, and Col. Williams, | Connecticut. |
| Messrs. Hopkins and Howard, | Rhode-Island. |
| Messrs. Penn, Peters, Norris, and Franklin, | Pennsylvania. |
| Col. Tasker and Maj. Barnes, | Maryland. |

That humble application be made for an act of the Parliament of Great-Britain, by virtue of which one

* There was another plan proposed, which embraced all the colonies of North America, except Georgia and Nova Scotia.

general Union may be formed, including all the said colonies; within and notwithstanding which union, each of said colonies shall and may hold and maintain its present constitution, except the particulars wherein a change or alteration may be directed by said act, as hereafter follows, viz.

That in the said general union, the ordering and direction of the affairs thereof be administered by one President General, who shall be the Governor of the province of the Massachusetts-Bay for the time being; and a Grand Council to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the said colonies, met in their respective assemblies.

That within months after the passing such act, the House of Representatives in the several assemblies that happen to be setting at that time, or that shall be specially convened for that purpose, may and shall choose members for the Grand Council in the following proportions, that is to say,

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Massachusetts-Bay | 7 | New-Hampshire | 3 |
| Connecticut | 4 | Rhode-Island | 2 |
| New-York | 4 | New-Jersey | 3 |
| | | In all, | 23 |

Who shall meet, for the first time, at the town of Boston, in New-England, at such time as shall be appointed by the President-General, and whereof the members of the Grand Council shall be duly notified, as soon as conveniently may be, after an act of parliament for this purpose is passed, and the several colonies duly acquainted thereof.

That the members of the Grand Council shall be newly elected and chosen, by the Representatives in the several assemblies, every three years; and on the death or resignation of any member, his place shall be supplied by a new choice, at the next sitting of the assembly of the colony he represented.

That the Grand Council shall meet once in every year, and oftener, if occasion require, at such time and place as they shall adjourn to, at their last preceding meeting; or as they shall be called to meet at, by the President-General, on any emergency, he having first obtained, in

writing, the consent of five of the members to such call; or, on application made to the President-General by ten of the Grand Council, in writing under their hands, to have a meeting called, he shall send due and timely notice to the whole.

That the Grand Council shall neither be dissolved, prorogued, nor continued sitting, longer than four weeks at one time, without their own consent, or the special command of the Crown.

That the President-General shall have a casting voice, whenever an equi-vote shall happen in the Grand Council.

That a quorum of the Grand Council, to act with the President-General, do consist of twelve members, among whom there shall be one or more from a majority of the colonies.

That the Grand Council shall annually grant a salary, to be allowed and paid to the President-General, for his services, not exceeding the sum of £ sterling.

That the members of the Grand Council shall be allowed, for their service, 10*s.* sterling per diem, during their sessions and journey to and from the place of meeting, twenty miles to be reckoned a day's journey.

That in case of the death of the President-General, the Lieut. Governor of the province of the Massachusetts-Bay shall preside, and be vested with the same powers and authorities, till the arrival of a new Governor for said colony.

That the President-General, with the Grand Council, summoned and assembled for that purpose, or a quorum of them as aforesaid, shall hold and direct all Indian treaties, in which the general interest or welfare of these colonies may be concerned; and make peace or declare war with Indian nations; that they make such rules and orders, with pains and punishments annexed thereto, as they judge necessary, for regulating all Indian trade; that they direct and order the ways and means, necessary and beneficial to support and maintain the safety and interests of these colonies, against all their common enemies; that they make all purchases from Indians, for the Crown, of lands not now within the bounds of particular colonies, or that shall not be within their bounds, when the extension of some of them are rendered more certain.

That they make new settlements on such purchases, by granting lands in the King's name, reserving a quit-rent to the Crown for the use of the general treasury.

That they make necessary rules and orders for the well regulating and managing such new settlements, till the Crown shall think fit to form them into particular government or governments.

That they agree and conclude the number of men, and sums of money, that shall, from time to time, be needed to be raised and paid for the purposes aforementioned; and when the President-General and Grand Council shall conclude and agree on any number of men, and sum of money, needed on any occasion, they shall notify the same to each of the Assemblies of said colonies, by sending an account thereof to the respective Governors of each of said colonies, to be communicated to their Assemblies, recommending it to each colony to raise their quota of men, and levy, collect, and pay their proportion of money, according to the proportion herein before settled for members to be chosen for the Grand Council from each colony; which may be done, in each colony, in such manner and form, as to them appears equal and right.

That the President-General be the general or chief commander of all the forces raised by virtue of this union; and that it be his office and duty to cause the acts, rules, and orders, made and concluded by virtue hereof, to be carried into execution; and he shall commission all the general officers that are needed, who shall be nominated to him by the Grand Council; and he shall commission the other commission officer or officers, that shall be needed, who shall be nominated to him by the Assembly of that colony, whose soldiers are to be commanded by such officer or officers.

That the President-General and Grand Council of these United Colonies may appoint a general treasurer, and a particular treasurer in each government, when necessary; and from time to time, may order the sums in the particular treasuries, by them appointed in each government, into the general treasury, or draw on them for special payments, as they find most convenient; yet no money to issue but by joint orders of the President-

General and Grand Council, except where sums have been appropriated to particular purposes, and the President-General previously empowered by an order to draw for such sums.

That the general accounts shall be yearly settled and reported to the several Assemblies.

That the particular military, as well as civil, establishments and constitutions of each colony, remain firm and entire, without any other change or alteration than is herein before mentioned, this general union notwithstanding.

And further, it is proposed, that there be a union made by an act of the parliament of Great-Britain: by virtue whereof, one general union may be formed, including the several colonies of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina; the affairs whereof, in relation to matters and things of the like nature to what is herein before comprised, to be ordered, directed, and administered, in the like manner and form as is herein before mentioned.

And further, it is proposed, that on any special emergency, and extraordinary occasion, wherein it may be thought needful, there may be just rules and directions made and given, wherein all the said colonies, herein before proposed to be united, in the more northern part of America, and those proposed to be united in the more southern part of North-America, may act in concert against the common enemy, in the best and most advantageous manner.

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REPORT OF A COMMITTEE, CHOSEN BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF CONNECTICUT, RESPECTING THE FOREGOING PLAN OF UNION.

*To the Honourable General Assembly, sitting at New-Haven, October*, 1754.

WE, your Honours' committee, appointed to take into consideration the proposed plan for an union of his Majesty's governments in North-America, to give our opinion thereon, and the reasons of such our opinion, &c. humbly report on the premises, viz.

Having duly and maturely considered said plan, we

are of opinion, that the same has a tendency greatly to weaken and injure his majesty's interest, and that it is subversive of the just rights and privileges of his good and faithful subjects inhabiting his dominions on this continent; and for such our opinion, we with much submission, offer the following reasons.

1. We find his Majesty's territories, from the south-west part of Georgia to Menis, is more than seventeen hundred miles; of which, from the head of St. John's (which we suppose to be the north-east extent of the Massachusetts province) to the Apilachi mountains, (which we suppose to be the south-west extent of the colony of South-Carolina,) is, on the frontiers by land, about fifteen hundred miles; which last extent is all within the limits of the proposed plan of union, so that the president-general and council have to provide for this large extent of frontiers; and should Georgia and Nova-Scotia, when able to assist, be added, it makes the same yet greater. The sea-coast, we find, varies very little from the extent by land; and we think it impracticable that his Majesty's interest, and the good of his people, inhabiting so great a country, can, in any advantageous or tolerable manner, be considered and conducted by the proposed president-general and council.

2. The president-general and council having authority to nominate and commissionate all military commission officers, we apprehend, will be highly disadvantageous to his Majesty's interest. Under this head we consider that our officers generally are chosen out of the best yeomen of this colony, who live on their own lands, in peace and plenty; but have ever been ready to serve their country in the field, when called: their commissions have always been prepared and delivered into their hands gratis. Under these officers, thus chosen and commissionated, freeholders' sons, the youth of this colony, have on all occasions, with great cheerfulness and alacrity, generally enlisted; and their country's good (not necessity) has led them to arms. Now, should officers be sent from abroad, we are fully satisfied, such youth would not enlist; and to press these generous young men into service will be not only hard and grievous, but in all probability will greatly dishearten and dispirit them, and

this, we conclude, is very much the case in other his Majesty's provinces and colonies on the continent.

3. His Majesty's subjects, now inhabiting this country, are a very great body; and in every twenty-five years the increase of inhabitants is so great, they are supposed to become double. This power and strength being brought into one point, all to move under the direction of said president-general and council, we fear, may in time be of dangerous consequence to his Majesty's interest, and the good of his loyal subjects here.

4. Further, we apprehend his Majesty's interest is in great danger from the president-general's having a negative voice; for if it ever be, that that officer should not well understand or pursue proper methods for the country's good, all may be ruined before relief can be had from the throne; and it seems to us, that the Grand Council are most likely to understand the true interest and weal of this people.

5. We think the proposal, in said plan contained, for the President-General and Council to lay and levy taxes, &c. as they please, throughout this territory, is a very extraordinary thing, and against the rights and privileges of Englishmen in general; *and such an innovation or breach on charter privileges, we fear, will greatly discourage and dishearten his Majesty's good subjects.* All which, with a draught for a union, delivered in herewith, is humbly submitted, by

Your Honours' committee,

Wm. Pitkin.
Jonath. Trumble.
Joseph Fowle.
Joseph Pitkin.
Jabez Hamlin.
John Hubbard.
Theoph. Nichols.
John Ledyard.

THE REASONS CONSIDERED AND OFFERED, BY THE ASSEMBLY OF THE COLONY OF CONNECTICUT, CONCERNING THE PLAN OF UNION THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE SEVERAL COLONIES IN NORTH-AMERICA, WHO MET AT ALBANY ON THE 14TH JUNE, 1754, HAVE PROPOSED FOR UNITING THE SAID COLONIES INTO ONE GENERAL GOVERNMENT, FOR THE PURPOSES THEREIN EXPRESSED, ARE AS FOLLOWS.

1. THE limits of the proposed plan of union are of too large extent; from Nova-Scotia on the north, to Georgia on the south, is fifteen hundred miles; so that the President-General and Grand Council must have to provide for this large extent of frontiers; and this plan seems calculated only to render this general government, therein proposed, capable to defend against the French, and to proclaim war, and make peace with the Indians. Now it seems plain, that it is impracticable that his Majesty's interest, and the good of his people inhabiting so great a country, with frontiers of so great length, can be advantageously defended, or in any good manner considered and conducted, by the proposed President-General and council: and it may be justly observed here, that a defensive war, on the part of this government, with so large a frontier, will prove detrimental and ruinous to it; while the French have it in their power, at any time, as well in a time of peace, as of a war, to send out small parties of their Indians, to skulk about in the woods, and fall upon, and surprise any part of the frontiers; and with but little hazard to themselves, and small expense, keep this proposed government in a continued alarm, in one or other part thereof, and put them to vast expense to defend themselves, and thereby weaken, impoverish, and greatly dishearten the King's subjects in every part of this large extent of frontiers; while the enemy will be encouraged, and grow strong and wealthy. This, indeed, cannot be remedied, but by carrying the war into the enemy's country, for which this plan makes no provision.

2. The President-General and Council to have authority to nominate and commission all military officers, will be highly detrimental to his Majesty's interest; as it can-

not be apprehended that they can be well acquainted, in the various parts of so large a government, with the persons who will best serve to encourage soldiers to enlist, and who may conduct them with prudence, and encourage their hearts. It hath hitherto been practised in the New-England governments to appoint officers out of their best yeomen, who live in good circumstances on their own property in lands; and when chosen freely, and without any application of their own for such offices, and receive their commissions gratis, they look on themselves obliged, and are always ready, to serve their country in the field, when thus called thereto; and under such officers, well known and esteemed among the people, freeholders' sons, not moved by necessity, but their country's good, generally have enlisted with cheerfulness and alacrity. Now, should officers be sent among them from abroad, and to whom they are strangers, it is plain such youth will not enlist; and to press such generous young men into service, must be not only hard and grievous, but very much dishearten and dispirit them: and this, no doubt, will prove the case in other of the American colonies, as well as of those in New-England.

3. His Majesty's subjects, now inhabiting this large and extensive country, take them collectively, are become a very great number; and, through the smiles of divine Providence hitherto, are greatly increased, and it is supposed to become double in every twenty-five years: now this growing power and strength to be brought into one point, all to move under the direction of such President-General and Council, may in time be of dangerous consequence to his Majesty's interest, and the good of his loyal subjects here.

4. The President-General to have a negative voice on the Council, may bring his Majesty's interest into danger: That officer, in so extensive a territory, not well understanding, or carefully pursuing proper methods for the country's good, all may be ruined before relief can be had from the throne; and in a country, where the greatest encouragement to go through the hardship and fatigue of a new settlement is the hope of enjoying liberty, and securing a small property in land to themselves, every thing that doth make any encroachment thereon will discourage the people, and thereby injure his Majesty's

interest: And it seems the Council, from the respective colonies, are most likely to understand the true interest and weal of the people.

5. The proposal, in said plan contained, for the President-General and Council to lay and levy taxes, &c. as they please, throughout this extensive government, is a very extraordinary thing, and against the rights and privileges of Englishmen, which is esteemed, and highly prized by the people of these colonies, who have now a due sense of their dependence on their mother country, and delight in obedience to, and admire the protection and privileges of, the laws of England; which, with the special favours and charter privileges to them granted, and hitherto kept sacred and inviolate, have encouraged the people inhabiting here, at their own great expense, industry, and hazard of their lives as well as fortunes, to settle, plant, and cultivate these remote places; and it is not to be doubted, that any great innovations, or breach of their original charters and constitutions, will greatly discourage the industry of the inhabitants, who are jealous of their privileges; and, while they are secured, are zealous to secure his Majesty's dominions here and pursue the enlargement thereof.

At this place, it may be worthy observation, that heavy taxes on the inhabitants, of the northern colonies especially, must be attended with grievous complaints from the main body of the people, who are not well furnished with money, and not able to carry on any considerable trade abroad, thereby to bring home *money*, more than is absolutely necessary to carry on their ordinary affairs; being principally employed in clearing, fencing, and cultivating their lands, and fitting them for future more profitable improvements; and from their first settlement have had the barbarous natives of the country frequently making war upon them, and their restless French neighbours setting on the Indians, in a barbarous manner, to kill or captivate the people, and that even in times of peace; which hath occasioned a very great expense, and loaded these colonies with a heavy debt, and brought on the necessity of creating and issuing bills of public credit; which, through their weakness and poverty, they were not able seasonably to sink and discharge, and thereby lessened credit

in these parts; from which disadvantages, these colonies are not quite freed to this day; and although they are well spirited to secure and defend all his Majesty's territories in North-America, and therein to lay themselves out to their utmost ability; yet, to bring on themselves large and heavy taxes, more than they are well able to pay, must occasion grievous complaints, and prove very discouraging.

For these reasons, more largely insisted on, and discoursed at the congress of the commissoners in Albany, in June last — The gentlemen, who went commissioners from the colony of Connecticut, objected to the proposed plan; and thought they were never answered or obviated, and therefore never came into, or gave any consent to the same.

And in addition hereunto, it is further to be considered and alleged, that the people of this colony, from their first settlement to this day, in their general assemblies, by their acts and resolutions therein made and passed, have shewn true loyalty, and sincere disposition to promote his Majesty's interest; and have always yielded cheerful obedience to his Majesty's commands; and have readily given assistance and aid to any of his Majesty's colonies, when the same hath been requested; and still remain in the same good disposition, and readily to conform to his Majesty's will and pleasure, signified to this colony by the Right Honourable the Earl of Holderness. The last paragraph of his letter to this colony, dated August 28, 1753, is in the following words, viz.

"And whereas it may be greatly conducive to his "Majesty's service, that all his provinces in America "should be aiding and assisting each other, in case of "any invasion, I have it particularly in charge from his "Majesty, to acquaint you, that it is his royal will and "pleasure, that you should keep up an exact correspon- "dence with all his Majesty's Governors on the conti- "nent; and in case you shall be informed, by any of "them, of any hostile attempt, you are immediately to "assemble the general assembly within your government, "and lay before them the necessity of a mutual assistance, "and engage them to grant such supplies as the exi- "gency of affairs may require."

It may justly be alleged and considered, that the securing the five nations or cantons of Indians, subject to his Majesty's dominions, and maintaining a peaceable and friendly disposition in them towards the people inhabiting these colonies, is of very great importance, and the principal good end that may be served by said proposed plan, by regulating the Indian trade, and bringing it under due management; which may be better served by commissioners of his Majesty's appointment, with powers and authorities to regulate and manage the trade with said Indians, and the other natives who are in friendship with them, and to make such rules and orders, with pains and penalties annexed thereto, as they shall judge necessary, and to see the same duly executed; and to hear, consider, and find means and ways to redress the grievances and complaints of said Indians; the necessity of which appears by the representation made at Albany, when the commissioners were present: And also to build forts needful for the defence of such Indians, and security of the trade with them, and keep them sufficiently garrisoned; the charge whereof may be principally defrayed by the profits of such trade, when well regulated and managed.

And if his Majesty should be gaciously pleased to encourage his subjects to settle and plant a government or colony on such lands, in their country, as the Indians will readily sell, to be formed and conducted as the New-England colonies have been, nothing would tend more to secure those Indians to his Majesty's interest, and attach their friendship to the English, and prevent the encroachments of the French; and so the great ends proposed effectually answered, without any discouragement to the people of these colonies, and without the least prejudice or injury to their privileges.

*General Assembly at New-Haven, Thursday, Oct. 2d,* 1754.

In the Upper House. The foregoing reasons, concerning the Plan of Union, &c. were read, considered, and approved, and ordered to lie on file in the Secretary's office. Test. GEORGE WYLLYS, Sec'ry.

In the Lower House, concurred.

Test. E. CHAUNCY, Clerk.

## Petitions, &c. from Members of the Church of England, in Boston, respecting Bishops.

*Boston, December* 8, 1713.

To the honourable Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

*The Representation and Request of the Ministers, Church-Wardens, and Vestry of the Church of England, in Boston.*

WE are informed by the Hon. General Nicholson, a most worthy member of your honourable Society, and a most generous benefactor to the church in these parts, that your honourable Society have laid before her Majesty a particular scheme of settlement for Bishops in these American parts: and as nothing can contribute more to the flourishing state of religion among us, we have made our humble address to her most sacred Majesty upon that head; and would humbly intreat some of the members of your honourable Society to be our remembrancers to her Majesty in that behalf; and that Almighty God may bless and prosper all your pious endeavours for the good of his church, and bless you for these endeavours, is the hearty prayer of your most obedient and most devoted humble servants,

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| J. N. | J. B. | J. D. | |
| T. B. | T. N. | W. T. | |
| J. H. | W. P. | S. M. | Ministers. |
| J. V. | C. S. | H. H. | |
| J. C. | G. G. | C. H. | Church- |
| | G. D. | J. J. | Wardens. |
| | | J. R. | |
| | | C. M. | |

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To the Queen's most excellent Majesty.

*The humble Address of the Ministers, Church-Wardens, and Vestry of the Church of England, in Boston, New-England.*

*May it please your Majesty,*

YOUR royal goodness being extended to all, even the remotest part of your Majesty's dominions, we take this

opportunity of expressing our humble, though imperfect thanks to your Majesty, for the many blessings we have enjoyed in the course of your glorious reign. Such was your Majesty's care of us, during the war, that our trade was in a great measure, by the happy reduction of the important fortress of Port Royal, under the auspicious conduct of General Nicholson; and now that honourable and advantageous peace, which your Majesty has concluded, does mightily increase our happiness, by delivering us from the violence of barbarous savages, who continually infested our country, and acted unheard-of cruelties. To complete, we humbly intreat your Majesty to provide for our spiritual concerns, and to establish Bishops and bishopricks within your Majesty's plantations in America. We are informed by General Nicholson, whose piety, generosity, and zeal for the church we cannot sufficiently commend, that the honourable Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, have laid before your Majesty the particular manner of the Bishops' respective settlements. Since nothing can tend more to make religion flourish among us, we promise ourselves that your Majesty will take this affair into your royal consideration; and that it may please Almighty God to grant your Majesty a long and happy reign over us, and advance you to immortal glory hereafter, is the constant and fervent prayer of your Majesty's most loyal, most dutiful, and most obedient subjects,

J. D.
W. T. &c.

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THAT no representations may prejudice the interests of our church in these parts, I have thought it expedient for me, at this juncture, to certify, that we have a very considerable number of people belonging to the church in this town of Boston; and that I am humbly of opinion, the church here, and also in other parts of this province, would increase much more under a Governor that was a constant communicant thereof, from whom we might reasonably expect all requisite protection and encouragement.

This present Governor, Joseph Dudley, Esq. is a member of an independent church at Roxbury, where his dwelling is, and has communicated there from his first coming to be Governor, and never communicated with

us since the Rev. Mr. Harrison's arrival here, (as he can inform) nor, to my certain knowledge, many years before, only this 25th of December last past he was at the communion, his Excellency Gen. Nicholson then present.

I do also certify, that Colonel Vetch never received the communion with us here; and since his arrival from Annapolis-Royal, has been but once at church, and that in the morning only. This is all true to a tittle, and attested by SAMUEL MYLES,

Presbyter of the church of England.

*Boston, New-England, Feb.* 17, 1713—14.

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HAVING served the church in this place, these five years last past, in conjunction with the Reverend Mr. Myles, I can certify the truth of the above-made relation ever since the time of my arrival here. In witness whereof I set my hand, HENRY HARRIS.

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*A Representation of several Officers in the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England, not belonging to the Church of England; and a List of the Names of the Gentlemen that do belong to said Church.*

*Officers in Public Post.*

Members of her Majesty's Council. Judges of the Superior and Inferior Court. Secretary of the Province. Attorney-General. Treasurer of the Province. Commissary-General for the War. Judges of Probate. High Sheriffs. Receiver of the Impost. Naval Officer. Clerks of Courts. House of Representatives. Officers of the Militia. Deputy Post-Master. Officers of the College.

*Names of the Gentlemen of the Church.*

The Hon. William Taylor, Esq. Lieut. Governor, communicant, and served as church-warden. Sir Charles Hobby, communicant and church-warden for the time being. John Nelson. Francis Foxcroft. Edward Lloyd, communicant and church-warden. John Jerkyl, Esq. communicant and church-warden for time being. Thomas Newton, communicant and church-

warden. John Bridger, communicant. Henry Mackentosh, communicant. Charles Bleckenden, communicant. Mr. Thomas Banister, communicant. Capt. Cyprian Southack, communicant and church-warden. Capt. Wentworth Paxton. Mr. John Oulton, communicant. Mr. Savil Sympson, communicant and church-warden. Mr. Giles Dyer, communicant. Mr. Joseph Stearn. Mr. John Valentine, communicant. Ebenezer Mountforth. James Lyndall. Francis Brinly. Edward Mills. George Turfry, communicant and church-warden. James Smith. Job Lewis. John Tresor, communicant. William Rouse. Anthony Blunt, communicant and church-warden. Edward Weaver, communicant. George Stuart. Thomas Letchmore. John Arburthnot. Thomas Sheapard. Joseph Loyd. John Newdicate. Daniel Weyburn. John Powel. John Bearnard. Thomas Creese. George Tarrant. Henry Franklyn, communicant. Eustace Hatch. John Chickley. William Patridge. Samuel Hill. Peter Butler. Richard Pullen. Thomas Selby, communicant. Richard Hall, communicant. Stephen North. Rowland Dyke. Henry Sharpe. John Gibbs. Mr. Renner. Ambrose Vincent, communicant. Roger Patisson, communicant. Stephen Labbie. John Johns.

Mr Brown, Mr. Bartlett, Mr. Sawyers, Mr. Merrill, *Newbury.*

We have omitted setting down a considerable number of our communicants, because of small figure, though good families in the town.

An account of the number of our congregation we have sent to my Lord Bishop of London, viz. 800; wherein we are well assured we have not exceeded.

These petitions intercepted, but not delivered; said to be found amongst Sir Charles Hobby's papers, by Mr. Mason, his administrator, and by him transmitted to Boston.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE WHOLE TRADE AND SHIPPING OF THE ISLAND OF NEWFOUNDLAND FOR THE YEAR 1799, TAKEN FROM THE CUSTOM-HOUSE BOOKS.

*Imports.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Shipping. | Number of vessels | 340 |
| | Number of tons | 34,225 |
| | Number of men | 2,449 |
| Hundred weight of bread and flour | | 44,215 |
| Barrels of beef and pork | | 13,062 |
| Hundred weight of butter and cheese | | 5,115 |
| Bushels of salt | | 566,201 |
| Pounds of tea | | 38,017 |
| Hundred weight of refined sugar | | 97½ |
| Hundred weight of Muscovado sugar. | | 1,726 |
| Gallons of molasses | | 168,104 |
| Gallons of rum | | 168,936 |
| Gallons of gin and brandy | | 9,431 |
| Gallons of wine | | 20,787 |
| Hogsheads of beer and cider | | 793 |
| Pounds of coffee | | 9,856 |
| Pounds of tobacco | | 120,663 |
| Pounds of soap and candles | | 123,939 |
| Chaldrons of coals | | 1,495 |
| Barrels of pitch and tar | | 1,242 |
| Thousand feet of planks and boards | | 541,856 |
| Thousand of shingles | | 150 |
| Number of masts and spars | | 306 |
| Number of bullocks and cows | | 417 |
| Number of sheep | | 505 |
| Bushels of Indian corn | | 1,437 |

*Exports.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Shipping. | Number of vessels | 336 |
| | Number of tons | 33,503 |
| | Number of men | 2,410 |
| Quintals of dry cod fish | | 453,337 |
| Quintals of core fish | | 13,995 |
| Tierces of salmon | | 2,642 |
| Barrels of herrings | | 202 |
| Tons of oil | | 3,017 |
| Number of seal skins | | 74,811 |

NUMBER OF THE BRITISH SUBJECTS, MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN, IN THE COLONIES OF NORTH-AMERICA, TAKEN FROM MILITIA ROLLS, POLL TAXES, BILLS OF MORTALITY, RETURNS FROM GOVERNORS AND OTHER AUTHENTIC AUTHORITIES. FROM THE LONDON MAGAZINE, FOR MAY, 1755.

| | |
|---|---|
| THE colonies of Halifax and Lunenburgh in Nova-Scotia | 5,000 |
| New-Hampshire | 30,000 |
| Massachusetts-Bay | 220,000 |
| Rhode-Island and Providence | 35,000 |
| Connecticut | 100,000 |
| New-York | 100,000 |
| The Jerseys | 60,000 |
| Pennsylvania, | 250,000 |
| Maryland | 85,000 |
| Virginia | 85,000 |
| North-Carolina | 45,000 |
| South-Carolina | 30,000 |
| Georgia | 6,000 |
| Total number | 1,051000 |

Exclusive of the military forces in the pay of the government, and negroes.

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A BILL FOR BETTER REGULATING OF CHARTER AND PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENTS IN AMERICA, AND FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE TRADE OF THIS KINGDOM AND OF HIS MAJESTY'S PLANTATIONS.

WHEREAS, by virtue of several Charters and Letters Patents, under the Great Seal of England, passed and granted by his Majesty's royal predecessors, the several colonies, provinces, and plantations of the Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Carolina, and the Bahama or Lucay Islands, in America, have been granted unto several persons, whereby the grantees are not only made proprietors of the soil and lands comprehended in the

said places, but lords and governors thereof; and have such large and unlimited powers, as have given them a pretence to assume absolute government and authority over his Majesty's subjects: And whereas the severing of such power and authority from the Crown, and placing the same in the hands of the subjects, hath, by experience, been found prejudical to the trade of this kingdom, and to the welfare and security of his Majesty's subjects in these, as well as in the other plantations in America, and to his Majesty's revenue arising from the customs, as well by reason of the disability of the proprietors to defend and protect his Majesty's subjects under the government, in case of any attempt of the Indians, or other enemy, as by the many irregularities committed by the governors of the said proprietary governments, as by others in authority under them there:

*Be it therefore enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same*, That the King's Majesty, his heirs, and successors, shall from the of have the sole power and authority of governing the said plantations and colonies, and every of them, and of appointing the governors, counsellors, judges, justices of the peace, and of all other officers for the administration and execution of justice there, and of pardoning offences there; the said power and authority to be for ever united to the Imperial Crown of these realms, any grants, usages, or other matter or thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

*Provided always*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to extend any ways to alter, or take away, diminish or abridge the right or title which any person, persons, or bodies politic or corporate have, or lawfully may have or claim to any lands, tenements or hereditaments, or any other matter or thing (the authority and powers aforementioned only excepted) by virtue of the said grants, or any other charter or letters patents, or by virtue of any right or title derived from or under such grants, charters, or letters patents, by any mean, assignments, or conveyances, or otherwise how-

soever. *Provided also*, That all such laws, made in the said respective plantations, which are now in force there, and have been confirmed and approved of by his Majesty's predecessors, or by his Majesty, or shall be hereafter confirmed by his Majesty, his heirs and successors, shall be of the same force and effect, as they would have been, if this act had not been made: And that all laws, hereafter to be made by the general assemblies of the said respective plantations, shall be made with consent of the respective governors thereof, to be appointed by his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, subject to the confirmation or disallowance of his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, and that appeals shall be allowed to his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, from the judgments, decrees, and sentence to be given and made in the courts of the said respective plantations, as appeals are allowed and used in other his Majesty's plantations; and law, statute, or usage, contrary hereunto, in any wise notwithstanding.

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## Dedications to the Rev. John Eliot's Indian version of the Old and New Testament.

[Printed at Cambridge, N. E. by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson. 1663.]

[The following dedications to the translation of the old and new testament in the Indian language, by the celebrated Eliot, are great curiosities. Such were annexed only to the few copies sent to England: and are of course the *very scarce* appendages of a *very scarce* book. Of six copies of the Indian bible, which I have seen, no one possessed these dedications. The following were taken from a mutilated copy, used in a barber's shop for waste paper. From this intended destruction they were eagerly snatched, by the hand which writes this, *as truly valuable relicks.*]

*To the High and Mighty Prince, Charles the Second, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.*

*The Commissioners of the United Colonies in New-England, wish increase of all happiness, &c.*

*Most Dread Sovereign,*

IF our weak apprehensions have not misled us, this Work will be no unacceptable Present to Your Ma-

jesty, as having a greater Interest therein, than we believe is generally understood: which (upon this Occasion) we conceive it our Duty to declare.

The people of these four Colonies (Confederate for Mutual Defence, in the time of the late Distractions of our dear Native Country) Your Majesties natural born Subjects, by the Favour and Grant of Your Royal Father and Grandfather of Famous Memory, put themselves upon this great and hazardous Undertaking, of Planting themselves at their own Charge in these remote ends of the Earth, that without offence or provocation to our dear Brethren and Countrymen, we might enjoy that liberty to Worship God, which our own Conscience informed us, was not onely our Right, but Duty: As also that we might (if it so pleased God) be instrumental to spread the light of the Gospel, the knowledge of the Son of God our Saviour, to the poor barbarous Heathen, which by His late Majesty, in some of our Patents, is declared to be His principal aim.

These honest and pious Intentions, have, through the grace and goodness of God and our Kings, been seconded with proportionable success: for, omitting the Immunities indulged us by Your Highness Royal Predecessors, we have been greatly incouraged by Your Majesties gracious expressions of Favour and Approbation signified, unto the *Address* made by the principal of our Colonies, to which the rest do most cordially Subscribe, though wanting the like seasonable opportunity, they have been (till now) deprived of the means to Congratulate Your Majesties happy Restitution, after Your long suffering, which we implore may yet be graciously accepted, that we may be equal partakers of Your Royal Favour and Moderation; which hath been so Illustrious that (to admiration) the animosities and different Perswasions of men have been so soon Composed, and so much cause of hope, that (unless the sins of the Nation prevent) a blessed Calm will succeed the late horrid Confusions of Church and State. And shall not we (*Dread Sovereign*) your Subjects of these Colonies, of the same Faith and Belief in all Points of Doctrine with our Countrymen, and the other Reformed Churches, (though perhaps not alike perswaded in some matters of Order, which in outward respects hath been unhappy for

us) promise and assure ourselves of all just favour and indulgence from a Prince so happily and graciously endowed?

The other part of our Errand hither, hath been attended with Endevours and Blessing; many of the wilde *Indians* being taught, and understanding the Doctrine of the Christian Religion, and with much affection attending such Preachers as are sent to teach them, many of their Children are instructed to Write and Reade, and some of them have proceeded further, to attain the knowledge of the Latine and Greek Tongues, and are brought up with our English youth in University-learning; There are divers of them that can and do reade some parts of the Scripture, and some Catechisms, which formerly have been Translated into their own Language, which hath occasioned the undertaking of a greater Work, *viz:* The Printing of the whole Bible, which (being Translated by a painful Labourer amongst them, who was desirous to see the Work accomplished in his dayes) hath already proceeded to the finishing of the New Testament, which we here humbly present to Your Majesty, as the first fruits and accomplishment of the Pious Design of your Royal Ancestors. The Old Testament is now under the Press, wanting and craving your Royal Favour and Assistance for the perfecting thereof.

We may not conceal, that though this Work hath been begun and prosecuted by such Instruments as God hath raised up here, yet the chief Charge and Cost, which hath supported and carried it thus far, hath been from the Charity and Piety of divers of our well-affected Countrymen in *England;* who being sensible of our inability in that respect, and studious to promote so good a Work, contributed large Sums of Money, which were to be improved according to the Direction and Order of the then-prevailing Powers, which hath been faithfully and religiously attended both there and here, according to the pious intentions of the Benefactors. And we do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that a matter of so much Devotion and Piety, tending so much to the Honour of God, may suffer no disappointment through any Legal defect (without the fault of the Donors, or the poor *Indians*, who onely receive the benefit) but that your Majesty be gra-

ciously pleased to Establish and Confirm the same, being contrived and done (as we conceive) in the first year of your Majesties Reign, as this Book was begun and now finished in the first year of your Establishment; which doth not onely presage the happy success of your Highness Government, but will be a perpetual monument, that by your Majesties Favour the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, was first made known to the *Indians:* An Honour wherof (we are assured) your Majesty will not a little esteem.

SIR, *The shines of Your Royal Favour upon these Vndertakings, will make these tender Plants to flourish, notwithstanding any malevolent Aspect from those that bear evil will to this* Sion, *and render Your Majesty more Illustrious and Glorious to after Generations.*

*The God of Heaven long preserve and bless Your Majesty with many happy dayes, to his Glory, the good and comfort of his Church and People.* Amen.

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*To the High and Mighty Prince, Charles the Second, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.*

*The Commissioners of the United Colonies in New-England, Wish all Happiness.*

*Most Dread Soveraign,*

AS our former Presentation of the New-Testament was Graciously Accepted by Your Majesty; so with all Humble Thankfulness for that Royal Favour, and with the like hope, We are bold now to Present the *WHOLE BIBLE*, Translated into the Language of the Natives of this Country, by *A Painful Labourer in that Work*, and now *Printed* and *Finished*, by means of the Pious Beneficence of Your Majesties Subjects in *England:* which also by Your Special Favour hath been Continued and Confirmed to the intended Use and Advancement of so Great and Good a Work, as is the *Propagation of the Gospel to these poor Barbarians* in this (Ere-while) Unknown World.

Translations of Holy Scripture, *The Word of the King of Kings*, have ever been deemed not unworthy of the most Princely Dedications: Examples whereof are extant in divers Languages. But Your Majesty is the First that hath Received one in this Language, or from this *American World*, or from any Parts so Remote from *Europe* as these are, for aught that ever we heard of.

Publications also of these Sacred Writings to the Sons of Men (who here, and here onely, have the Misteries of their Eternal Salvation revealed to them by the God of Heaven) is a Work that the Greatest Princes have Honoured themselves by. But to Publish and Communicate the same to a Lost People, as remote from Knowledge and Civility, much more from Christianity, as they were from all Knowing, Civil and Christian Nations; a People without Law, without Letters, without Riches, or Means to procure any such thing; a People that *sate as deep in darkness, and in the shadow of Death*, as (we think) any since the Creation: This puts a Lustre upon it that is Superlative; and to have given Royal Patronage and Countenance to such a Publication, or to the Means thereof, will stand among the Marks of Lasting Honour in the eyes of all that are Considerate, even unto After-Generations.

And though there be in this Western World many Colonies of other European Nations, yet we humbly conceive, no Prince hath had a Return of such a Work as this; which may be some Token of the Success of Your Majesties Plantation of *New-England*, Undertaken and Setled under the Encouragement and Security of Grants from Your Royal Father and Grandfather, of Famous Memory, and Cherished with late Gracious Aspects from Your Majesty. Though indeed, the present Poverty of these Plantations could not have Accomplished this Work, had not the forementioned Bounty of *England* lent Relief; Nor could that have Continued to stand us in stead, without the Influence of Your Royal Favour and Authority, whereby the *Corporation* there, *For Propagating the Gospel among these Natives*, hath been Established and Encouraged (whose Labour of Love, Care, and Faithfulness in that Trust, must ever be remembred with Honour.) Yea, when private persons, for their private Ends, have of late sought Advantages to deprive the said Corporation of Half

the Possessions that had been, by Liberal Contributions, obtained for so Religious Ends; We understand, that by an Honourable and Righteous Decision in Your Majesties *Court of Chancery*, their Hopes have been defeated, and the Thing Settled where it was and is. For which great Favour, and Illustrious Fruit of Your Majesties Government, we cannot but return our most Humble Thanks in this Publick Manner: And, as the Result, of the joynt Endeavours of Your Majesties Subjects there and here, acting under Your Royal Influence, We Present *You* with this Work which upon sundry accounts is to be called *Yours*.

The Southern Colonies of the *Spanish Nation* have sent home from this *American Continent*, much Gold and Silver, as the Fruit and End of their Discoveries and Transplantations: That (we confess) is a scarce Commodity in this Colder Climate. But (suitable to the Ends of our Undertaking) we Present this, and other Concomitant Fruits of our poor Endeavours to Plant and Propagate the Gospel here; which, upon a true account, is as much better than Gold, as the Souls of men are more worth than the whole World. This is a Nobler Fruit (and indeed, in the Counsels of All-disposing Providence, was an higher intended End) of *Columbus* his Adventure. And though by his Brother's being hindred from a seasonable Application, your Famous Predecessour and Ancestor, King *Henry* the Seventh, missed of being sole Owner of that first Discovery, and of the Riches thereof; yet, if the Honour of first Discovering the True and Saving Knowledge of the Gospel unto the poor *Americans*, and of Erecting the Kingdome of *JESUS CHRIST* among them, be Reserved for, and do Redound unto your Majesty, and the English Nation, After-ages will not reckon this Inferiour to the other. Religion is the End and Glory of Mankinde: and as it was the Professed End of this Plantation; so we desire ever to keep it in our Eye as our main Design (both as to ourselves, and the Natives about us) and that our Products may be answerable thereunto. Give us therefore leave (*Dread Soveraign*) yet again humbly to Beg the Continuance of your Royal Favour, and of the Influences thereof, upon this poor Plantation, *The United Colonies of* NEW-ENGLAND, for the Securing

and Establishment of our Civil Priviledges, and Religious Liberties hitherto Enjoyed; and, upon this Good Work of Propagating Religion to these Natives, that the Supports and Encouragements thereof from *England* may be still Countenanced and Confirmed. May this Nursling still suck the Breast of Kings, and be fostered by your Majesty, as it hath been by your Royal Predecessors, unto the Preservation of its main Concernments; It shall thrive and prosper to the Glory of God, and the Honour of your Majesty: Neither will it be any loss or grief unto our Lord the King, to have the Blessing of the Poor to come upon Him, and that from these Ends of the Earth.

*The God by whom Kings Reign, and Princes Decree Justice, Bless Your Majesty, and Establish Your Throne in Righteousness, in Mercy, and in Truth, to the Glory of His Name, the Good of His People, and to Your own Comfort and Rejoycing, not in this onely, but in another World.*

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## Sir Thomas Temple's Apology for Coinage in Massachusetts. From the Monthly Magazine for January, 1799.

I BEG leave, through the channel of your liberal and most valuable miscellany, to make a few observations upon the following passage in Dr. Robertson's "History of America," lately published. After enumerating several instances of the address and ambition of the colonists in the northern provinces, the historian goes on:

"These were followed by an indication still less ambiguous of the aspiring spirit prevalent among the people of the Massachusetts. Under every form of government, the right of coining money has been considered as a prerogative peculiar to sovereignty, and which no subordinate member of a state is entitled to claim. Regardless of this established maxim, the general court ordered a coinage of silver money at Boston, stamped with the name of the colony, and a tree, as an apt symbol of its progressive vigour. Even this usurpation passed without notice."

From the above passage, it seems to be the opinion of Dr. Robertson, that the people of the Massachusetts assumed this "peculiar prerogative of sovereignty" in defiance of, or at least in opposition to, the royal authority. But it ought to be particularly noticed, that the first coinage was made in the year 1652. Instead, therefore, of ascribing this measure to the "aspiring spirit" of the people of Massachusetts, the Doctor might justly have said, that the colonists being nearly deserted, at this time, by the rulers at home, on account of the civil wars, and the various forms of government which afterwards followed, were obliged to coin money from absolute necessity. The following extract from the Memoirs of the late truly patriotic Thomas Hollis, will prove this to have been the principal, if not the only cause, and consequently point out the mistake which Dr. Robertson has inadvertently fallen into.

"Sir Thomas Temple, brother to Sir William Temple, resided several years in New-England during the interregnum. After the restoration, when he returned to England, the King sent for him, and discoursed with him on the state of affairs in the Massachusetts, and discovered great warmth against that colony. Among other things, he said they had invaded his prerogative by coining money. Sir Thomas, who was a real friend to the colony, told his majesty, that the colonists had but little acquaintance with law, and that they thought it no crime to make money for their own use. In the course of the conversation, Sir Thomas took some of the money out of his pocket, and presented it to the king. On one side of the coin was a pine tree, of that kind which is thick and bushy at the top. Charles asked what tree that was? Sir Thomas informed him it was the royal oak, which preserved his majesty's life. This account of the matter brought the king into good humour, and disposed him to hear what Sir Thomas had to say in their favour, calling them a "parcel of honest dogs."

The jocular turn which Sir Thomas gave to the story, was evidently calculated to amuse the monarch in his own way, and had the desired effect, in disposing him to hear with good humour that just defence of the colonies, which Sir Thomas was so well qualified to make.

We find he pleaded, that the colonists thought it no crime to make money for their own use; at a time too, when the confusions in the mother country prevented them receiving those occasional supplies of coin, which were absolutely necessary for common circulation. Such an uncommon exigency required an uncommon expedient; and this will account for the proceedings of the people of Massachusetts in a more rational manner, than Dr. Robertson has done: for it is highly improbable that they should aspire after independence, at a time when their historians represent them as few in number, discordant, and scarcely able to defend themselves against their savage enemies.

A writer of such distinguished talents as the late Dr. Robertson, will always enjoy the good opinion and confidence of his readers: his mistakes, therefore, will be of more consequence, and deserving of being amended. That our eloquent historian is under a mistake, though, no doubt, an inadvertent one, in the present instance, is next to certain; nor will his candid readers be displeased with any respectful attempt to set this mistake in a clear light. It may be added too, as some kind of proof in this case, that, during the late unhappy American war, when the whole tribe of hireling scribblers and aspiring priests were, with "profligate industry," ransacking every dirty corner to discover and accumulate charges against the colonists, in order to stimulate the credulous John Bull to bleed freely, the coinage business was never, to the best of my recollection, enumerated in the black catalogue of their high crimes and misdemeanours.

Signed, *A Friend to Truth.*

THE HEADS OF INQUIRY, RELATIVE TO THE PRESENT STATE AND CONDITION OF HIS MAJESTY'S COLONY OF CONNECTICUT, SIGNIFIED BY HIS MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE, IN HIS LETTER OF THE 5TH JULY, 1773, WITH THE ANSWERS, RETURNED TO HIS MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE, BY THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF THE ENGLISH COLONY OF CONNECTICUT, OCTOBER, 1774.

I. WHAT is the situation of the colony under your government, the nature of the country, soil and climate, the latitudes and longitudes of the most considerable places in it? Have those latitudes and longitudes been settled by good observations, or only by common computations, and from whence are the longitudes computed?

I. The situation of the first settled part of this colony is mostly from forty-one to forty-two degrees of northerly latitude, and from seventy-two to seventy-three degrees and forty-five minutes of west longitude. The soil of this colony (lying in the 5th and 6th north climate) is generally fertile, interspersed with mountainous and broken land, with some small parts thin and barren: the country healthful, although subject to the extremes of heat and cold in their seasons, and to frequent sudden changes. Two considerable places and ports in the colony are, New-London, latitude 41° 25′ north, longitude 72° 15′ west. New-Haven, latitude 41° 18′ north, longitude 72° 56′ west; settled by good observations: the longitudes computed from the royal observatory at Greenwich.

II. What are the reputed boundaries? And are any parts thereof disputed? What parts, and by whom?

II. The boundaries are expressed in our charter, viz. "All that part of his Majesty's dominions in New-Eng-"land, in America, bounden on the east by Narraganset "river, commonly called Narraganset bay, where the "river falleth into the sea; and on the north by the line "of the Massachusetts plantation; and on the south by "the sea; and in longitude as the line of the Massachu-"setts colony, running from east to west, that is to say, "from the said "Narraganset bay on the east, to the

"south sea on the west part, with the islands thereunto "adjoining."

A number of the inhabitants of this colony, called the Susquehannah, and Delaware Companies, in the year 1754, for great and valuable considerations, in money, paid and satisfied to the Indians of the Six Nations, purchased of them, as early as they, the aboriginal proprietors, were willing to grant and convey their title to a large tract of land, within the bounds and limits of this colony, lying west of the river Delaware, and from thence spreading over the east and west branches of the Susquehannah river. Since such purchases a great number of our inhabitants have made settlements thereon.

The general assembly of this colony have asserted their claim to those lands: and the inhabitants dwelling within the bounds of this colony, on the west side of the Delaware river, are made and constituted a distinct town, with like powers and privileges as other towns in this colony by law have, within the following bounds, viz. bounded east by Delaware river, north by the north bound of the colony, west by a north and south line across the colony at fifteen miles distance west from a place on the Susquehannah river called Wyoming, and south by the south line of this colony; which town is called by the name of Westmorland, and is annexed to the county of Litchfield. The proprietaries of Pennsylvania dispute the right of this colony to those lands; they refuse to join, to run, or to settle the line between this colony and that province.

III. What is the size and extent of the colony, the number of acres supposed to be contained therein? What part thereof is cultivated and improved? And under what titles do the inhabitants hold their possession?

III. The size and extent of the first settled part, is from the colony of Rhode-Island on the east, to the province of New-York on the west; and from the Massachusetts on the north, to the sea on the south: two millions, six hundred and forty thousand acres, are supposed to be contained therein. The proportion of arable, meadow, pasture, wood-land, and such as is mountainous and barren, is unknown. The lands beyond the river Delaware, lately purchased from the

Indian proprietors, are still less known. The original title to the lands on which the colony was first settled, was, at the time the English came hither, in the Pequot nation of Indians, who were numerous and warlike ; their country extended from Narraganset to Hudson's river, and over all Long-Island. Sasacus, their great sagamore, had under him twenty-six sachems : he injuriously made war upon the English ; he exercised despotic dominion over his subjects ; he, with all his sachems and people, were conquered, and made tributaries to the English. The war being ended, considerations and settlements were made with such sachems and people as remained, who came in, and received to their full contentment and satisfaction ; and have at all times since been used and treated with justice and humanity. No grants are made by the general assembly, before the Indian title is purchased, agreeable to the right of pre-emption, granted by royal charter to the governor and company of this colony. Thus the greatest part of this colony was purchased and obtained for great and valuable considerations, and other parts thereof gained by conquest, and with which much difficulty, and at the only endeavours, expense and charges of persons thereby interested in the plantation of Connecticut, in New-England, and their associates. Thereupon, agreeable to our royal patent and grant, the title under which the inhabitants hold their possession, is a grant and patent made by the general assembly of the governor and company of this colony to the respective townships, or to particular persons, to them, their heirs, successors and assigns forever, according to the most free tenure of East-Greenwich, in the county of Kent, in the realm of England.

IV. What rivers are there, and of what extent and convenience in point of commerce ?

IV. The principal rivers are, Connecticut, New-London, Stratford, Delaware, and Susquehannah. The extent of the first is through New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, and this colony ; navigable to Hartford ; the second to Norwich ; the third to Derby, the northern parts of this is usually called Ousatannock river : they are all of great convenience in point of commerce.

V. What are the principal harbours, how situated, of what extent, and what is the depth of water, and nature of anchorage each?

V. The principal harbours are, New-London, and New-Haven: The former opens to the south; from the light-house at the mouth of the harbour, to the town, is about three miles, the breadth three-quarters of a mile, and in some places more; from five to six fathoms water, a clear bottom, tough ooze, and as far up as one mile above the town entirely secure and commodious for large ships: The latter is situate north and south; half a mile wide at the entrance, from thence to the town four miles; having two fathom and one half at low water, and three fathom and four feet at common tides, and very good anchorage.

VI. What is the constitution of the government?

VI. The constitution of the government, by royal charter, is a legislative power vested in the general assembly, which consists of the governor, or in his absence the deputy-governor, and twelve assistants (called the upper house); and representatives, not exceeding two from each town, chosen by the freemen of the respective towns they represent, (called the lower house.)

No act is valid without the joint concurrence of both houses: they make laws, institute judicatories, appoint judges, and other necessary officers, who are sworn to a faithful discharge of their trust. A general assembly is holden, agreeable to royal charter, in May and October, annually; and at other times when called by the governor, or in his absence the deputy-governor, on any emergency.

VII. What is the trade of the province? the number of shipping belonging thereto, their tonnage, and number of seafaring men, with their respective increase or diminution within ten years past?

VII. The principal trade of this colony is to the West-India islands, excepting now and then a vessel to Ireland with flaxseed, and to England with lumber and pot-ashes, and a few to Gibraltar and Barbary. The number of shipping is one hundred and eighty; their tonnage 10,317; seafaring men 1162; besides upwards of twenty sail of coasting vessels, that employ about ninety seamen:

The increase since the year 1762, in number of shipping, 76; their tonnage 6,790; seafaring men 601.

VIII. What quantity and sorts of British manufactures do the inhabitants annually take from hence? What goods and commodities are exported from thence to Great-Britain, and what is the annual amount at average?

VIII. The quantity of British manufactures the inhabitants do annually import hither from Great-Britain, are few; but including those taken from the merchants of Boston and New-York, upon a medium, from the best observation, is £200,000 sterling, per annum. The sorts are almost all that are useful or ornamental in common life. The goods and commodities exported from hence to Great-Britain, are pot and pearl ashes, lumber, and some salted provisions; the annual amount at an average may be £10,000 sterling.

IX. What trade has the province under your government with any foreign plantations, or any part of Europe besides Great-Britain? How is that trade carried on? What commodities do the people under your government send to, or receive from foreign plantations; and what is the annual amount at an average?

IX. A trade with the French and Dutch West-Indies, Gibraltar, and Barbary. Those vessels that go from hence to the French and Dutch plantations, carry horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, provisions and lumber: those for Gibraltar and Barbary, carry flour, lumber, New-England rum, and stores for muling; they receive molasses, cocoa, cotton, and some sugar; from the Dutch plantations bills of exchange; and from Barbary, mules, sold in the West-Indies for bills of exchange: the annual amount is about £55,000, at an average.

X. What methods are there used to prevent illegal trade? and are the same effectual?

X. A careful conformity of the custom-house officers and all concerned, to their duty, which prove very effectual.

XI. What is the natural produce of the country, staple commodities, and manufactures; and what value thereof in sterling money may you annually export?

XI. Its natural produce is timber of all kinds, wheat, rye, Indian-corn, beans, barley, oats, and flax: the staple

commodities are the above produce, pork, beef, and pot and pearl ashes.

The manufactures are coarse linens and woollens, done in the family-way, for the use of the poorer sort, labourers, and servants; also ironmongery, but export none. The value of our exported produce and commodities, may be annually £200,000.

XII. What mines are there?

XII. Copper mines in divers parts, yet after considerable expense and labour to open them, have proved unprofitable, and now are much neglected. — Iron mines in great plenty in many places, manufactured to some advantage, but hitherto not a supply for our inhabitants.

XIII. What is the number of inhabitants, whites and blacks?

XIII. On an exact census, the number of inhabitants: whites 191,392; blacks 6,464.

XIV. Are the inhabitants increased or decreased within the last ten years? How much, and for what reason?

XIV. The inhabitants are increased since the year 1762, 52,266; also within this time, there have been frequent and numerous emigrations from hence, to settle on new lands in his Majesty's other colonies in America: which, under the Divine Benediction, we attribute to industrious, temperate life, and early marriage.

XV. What is the number of the militia, and under what regulations is it constituted?

XV. The number on the militia rolls is 26,260. It is constituted under the regulations provided in "An act "for forming and regulating the militia; and for the en- "couragement of military skill, for the better defence of "this colony." All male persons from sixteen years of age to forty-five, to bear arms, excepting civil and ecclesiastical officers, and others therein mentioned: the train-bands in each town, to attend four days in a year, for instruction in military discipline. There are eighteen regiments, with a troop of horse to each, and to some two troops; each regiment to attend regimental exercises once in four years. The militia spend their own time; the soldiers and all householders provide themselves with arms, &c. Fines and penalties are imposed for every

neglect and defect. It is no otherwise of any expense to the colony.

XVI. What forts and places of defence are there within your government; and in what condition?

XVI. A small battery at New-London, consisting of nine guns, built and supported at the colony's expense, which is small.

XVII. What number of Indians have you; and how are they inclined?

XVII. There is thirteen hundred and sixty-three; many of them dwell in English families, the rest in small tribes in various places: they are in peace, good order, and inclined to idleness.

XVIII. What is the strength of the neighbouring Indians?

XVIII. No Indians are in the neighbourhood of the first settled part of this Colony; the Six Nations border on the lands lying west of Delaware.

XIX. What is the revenue arising within your government; and how is it appropriated and applied?

XIX. It arises from a tax on polls and rateable estate, near to six thousand pounds sterling: Somewhat more than one third part is appropriated to the support of schools in the several towns, for education of children and youth: The residue is applied for the support of government.

XX. What are the ordinary and extraordinary expenses of your government?

XX. The ordinary annual expenses are near four thousand pounds sterling, exclusive of the schools: there hath been no extraordinary expenses since the last war; the burden of that is felt to this day.

XXI. What are the establishments, civil and military, within your government; and by what authority do the officers hold their places? What is the annual value of each office, civil and military? How are they respectively appointed, and who are the present possessors?

XXI. The civil officers of the colony, are; the governor, deputy-governor, and twelve assistants, annually chosen in May, by the freemen of the colony, and take their several and respective corporal oaths, according to our royal charter: at the same time is chosen and

sworn according to law, a treasurer, and secretary. By law are established, one superior court, whereof is one chief judge, and four other judges; which court is held in each county twice in a year: an inferior or county court in each county, whereof is one judge, and two or more justices of the quorum: courts of probates in eighteen districts, whereof is one judge in each district: justices of the peace for each county, whereof there is one or more in each town: one sheriff, and one King's attorney in each county.

The military officers established by law, are; the governor for the time being, is captain-general and commander in chief of and over all the military forces within this colony; the deputy-governor for the time being, is lieutenant-general of the same: one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel and one major of each regiment: one captain of each train-band, and troop of horse, with subaltern officers.

All officers, civil and military, hold their place by commission from the governor.

The governor's salary is £300 lawful money, per ann.

The deputy-governor's is £100.

The treasurer's is £180.

The secretary's is £20, with certain perquisites.

Other civil officers are rewarded for their services according to the time they attend the same.

All officers, both civil and military, are appointed by the governor, council, and representatives, in general court assembled.

The civil officers are appointed annually in May; the military officers from time to time as vacancies happen.

The names of the present civil officers, are as follows, viz.

JONATHAN TRUMBULL, GOVERNOR,
MATTHEW GRISWOLD, Deputy-Governor.

Assistants.

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| Jabez Hamlin, | Abraham Davenport, |
| Shubael Conant, | William-Samuel Johnson, |
| Flisha Shelden, | Joseph Spencer, |
| Eliphalet Dyer, | Oliver Wolcott, |
| Jabez Huntington, | William Pitkin, |
| Roger Sherman, | James-Abraham Hillhouse, |

John Lawrence, Treasurer,
George Wyllys, Secretary.

The Superior Court.
Mathew Griswold, Chief Judge.
Eliphalet Dyer,
Roger Sherman,
William Pitkin
Samuel Huntington,
} Judges.

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COLONY OF CONNECTICUT.

*At a general Assembly of the Governor and Company of the Colony of Connecticut, holden at New-Haven, on the second Thursday of October*, 1774.

RESOLVED by this Assembly, that his Honour the Governor be, and he is hereby desired to cause six hundred copies of the queries from the Secretary of State, dated 5th July, 1773, and the answers thereto, prepared by his Honour, and laid before this Assembly, to be printed, and cause the same to be distributed to the several towns in this colony, in proportion to their list of estates.

GEORGE WYLLYS, Sec'y.

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SOME ACCOUNT OF THE SEVERE DROUGHT IN 1749, FROM A MS. OF MR. JAMES BLAKE, OF DORCHESTER.

"THIS summer was the severest drought in this country that has ever been known in the memory of the oldest persons among us. It was a dry spring; and by the latter end of May the grass was burnt up, so that the ground looked white: and it was the 6th day of July, before any rain (to speak of) came. The earth was dried like powder to a great depth; and many wells, springs, brooks, and small rivers were dried up, that were never known to fail before: and the fish in some of the rivers died. The pastures were so scorched, that there was nothing green to be seen; and the cattle waxed poor, and by their lowing seemed to call upon their owners for relief, who could not help them.

Although the dry grass was eaten so close, that there were but a few thin spires to be seen, yet several pastures took fire, and burnt fiercely. My pasture took fire near the barn, by a boy's dropping a coal as he was carrying fire to the water-side; and though there seemed to be so little grass, yet what there was, by the ground's being so dry, blazed and flashed like gun-powder, and run very fast along the ground, and in one place burnt some fence: and we were forced to work hard to keep it from the barn, and to extinguish it; having the help of sundry men that happened to be here. It spread over about half an acre of ground before we could stop it; and where there were lumps of cow-dung, it would burn till the whole lump was consumed, and burn a hole in the ground; and we were obliged to use much water to quench it.

"There was a great scarcity of hay, being but a very little cut of the first crop; and salt-marsh failed nearly as much as the English meadow. English hay was then sold for £3 and £3–10, old tenor, per hundred. Barley and oats were so pinched, that many had not much more than their seed again; and many cut down their grain before it was ripe, for fodder. Flax almost wholly failed, as also garden herbs of all sorts; and the Indian corn rolled up and wilted. And there was a melancholy prospect of the greatest dearth that ever was known in this land.

"In the time of our fears and distress, the government ordered a day of public fasting and prayer: and God was graciously pleased to hear and answer our petitions in a very remarkable manner: for, about the 6th of July, the course of the weather altered, and there came such seasonable and plentiful rains, as quite changed the face of the earth; and that grass which we generally concluded was wholly dead, and could not come again under several years, was revived, and there was a good second crop of mowing, it looking more like the spring than the latter part of the year: and the Indian corn recovered, and there was a very good harvest.

"And whereas it was thought, in the fall of the year, that a multitude of cattle must die for want of food, insomuch that they sent and fetched hay from England; yet

God in his providence ordered us a moderate winter, and we were carried comfortably through it, and I did not hear of many, if any, cattle that died. But by reason of so many cattle having been killed off last fall, beef, mutton, and butter are now, in May, 1750, very dear. Butter is 7*s.* 6*d.* old tenor pr. lb.

"Upon the coming of the rains, and renewing of the earth, last fall, the government appointed a day of public thanksgiving.

"[This summer, June 18th was said to be the hottest day that was ever known in the northerly part of America.]"

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## Grand Jury's Bill against Mary Osgood.

*Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New England. Essex, ss.* } *Anno R. & Reginæ Gulielmi et Mariæ Anglice, &c. Quarto.*

*Annoq. Domini* 1692.

THE jurors for our sovereign lord and lady, the King and Queen, present, that Mary Osgood, wife of Capt. John Osgood, of Andover, in the county of Essex, about eleven years ago, in the town of Andover aforesaid, wickedly, maliciously, and feloniously, a covenant with the Devil did make, and signed the Devil's Book, and took the Devil to be her God, and consented to serve and worship him, and was baptized by the Devil, and renounced her former Christian baptism, and promised to be the Devil's, both body and soul forever, and to serve him; by which diabolical covenant, by her made with the Devil, she the said Mary Osgood is become a detestable Witch, against the peace of our sovereign lord and lady, the King and Queen, their crown and dignity, and the laws in that case made and provided.

*Billa vera.* Robert Page, Foreman.

*Ponit se. Non cul:—found.*

## Biographical Notice of the Rev. James Noyes, First Minister of Newbury.

REVEREND James Noyes was born in England, at Choulderton, in Wiltshire, in the year 1608. His father was a minister of that town: His mother a sister of the Rev. Robert Parker.

He had his education, chiefly, under Mr. Thomas Parker, the son of Robert. By him he was invited from Brazen-nose College, in Oxford, to assist in the care and charge of the public school at Newbury; and which they kept together until they came into New-England, in 1634.

Soon afterwards they began a settlement, to which they gave the name of Newbury; gathered a church, and Mr. Parker became the pastor, and Mr. Noyes the teacher. In this station, Mr. Noyes continued for something more than twenty years.

His sickness was long and tedious, which he bore with patience, and even cheerfulness, and died October 22d, 1656, in the 48th year of his age. He left six sons and two daughters, all of whom *lived to be married.* Two of his sons, James and Moses, were educated at Harvard college; commenced in 1659, and were settled in the ministry in Connecticut.

James was pastor of a church in Stonington, and died December 30th, in the year 1719, in the 81st year of his age, and 56th of his ministry.

Moses was pastor of a church in Lyme. He died Nov. 10th, 1729, in the 86th year of his age, after having resided with his people 60 years.

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## A Description and Historical Account of the Isles of Shoals.

Situation.] THERE are *eight* Islands in the cluster that bears this name, compactly situated, viz *Hog* Island, of about 350 acres; *Star* Island, of about 150 acres; *Haley's* or *Smutty-Nose* Island, of about 100 acres. These are the principal, and the only ones that

are habitable. The others are *Cedar*, *White*, *Londonner's*, *Malaga*, and *Duck Islands;* the largest of which contains about eight acres, the smallest one acre. They lie nine miles S. E. of Portsmouth light-house, (N. H.) and 21 N. E. of the light-houses at Newburyport. N. lat. 42° 59′ W. Long. from London, 70° 30′. The line, which divides New-Hampshire from Maine, passes between these islands, leaving *Haley's*, *Hog*, *Duck*, *Cedar*, and *Malaga* isles, on the N. E. in Maine ; and the others on the S. W. in New-Hampshire.* Some have entertained the idea, that these islands, at some former period, joined to some of the points or bluffs, that project from the main, near Hampton. The Rev. Mr. *Tuck* was of this opinion.†

Discovery.] These islands were discovered by the celebrated Capt. John Smith, in 1614, and by him named *Smith's Isles.* For reasons unknown to the writer, they shortly after obtained their present name. The deed given by the Indian sagamores to John Wheelright and others, in 1629, includes "the *Isles of Shoals*, so called by the English." ‡

Harbour.] The only secure harbour in these islands is Haley's, which opens to the S. W. having Haley's island S. E. Malaga N. W. a wall, built by Mr. Haley, between 70 and 80 paces in length, on the N. E. This little, well-sheltered harbour is of great importance, not only to the fishermen of these islands, but to merchant vessels coming on this coast, who, not infrequently, have been obliged to put into the Shoals, in distress. Many lives and much property have been saved by means of this harbour, and the timely and humane exertions of these hardy islanders. The wall, which secures this harbour, is in a state of decay. The enterprising proprietor

* In Governor Wentworth's commission of 1764, the boundaries of New Hampshire are described in part as follows: "And by a dividing line, parting the *Isles of Shoals*, and running through the middle of the harbour between the said islands to the sea, on the south-easterly side, the south-westerly part of said Islands, to be accounted part of our province of New-Hampshire." The above line meets the south line of New-Hampshire, at a point a few miles eastward of the Shoals.

† MS. Letter of Judge Sewall to the author.

‡ See Belknap's History, vol. I. Ap. p. 2.

is unable to make the necessary repairs. The security and enlargement of this harbour is an object which deserves the attention of the public. These islands are conveniently situated for the smuggling trade; and unless some measures be taken by the government of the United States, to prevent it, by establishing a free port here, or making it a place of strength, it may be used for that purpose.*

Face of the Islands, &c.] These islands have a dreary and inhospitable appearance, and but for their advantageous situation for carrying on the fisheries, would probably never have been inhabited. They are a bed of rocks, raising their disjointed heads above the water. The greater part of their surface is covered with a thin soil, yielding grass sufficient to support, during the summer and autumn, twenty or thirty cows, and about 150 sheep. The sheep raised here are usually killed before winter. Nearly half the sward, on Star Island, has, within a few years, been cut up by the necessitous inhabitants, dried and burnt, instead of more solid fuel.

Upon all the islands there are chasms in the rocks, several yards wide, and from one to ten deep, occasioned, if we may judge from appearances, by some violent earthquake. In some places, acres of rock are broken off from the rest of the island; and through the cracks or guts, the water, at high tides and in storms, rushes in torrents. The most remarkable of these chasms is on the S. E. point of Star island, in which is a place, where, tradition says, one *Betty Moody* secreted herself when the Indians visited the island, and carried off many female captives, and thence called, to this day, "*Betty Moody's hole.*" Others say she was drowned here.

Climate.] The worthy Mr. Tuck used to say, that, in the winter season, the weather at the Shoals was "a thin under waistcoat warmer, than in the same parallel of latitude on the main." About a century ago, the ice extended from Star to Hog island. In January, 1697, the

* In 1766, the town of Gosport (Star Island) voted to petition the General Court of New-Hampshire for a lottery to build a *pier* in the cove before the town.† What became of this petition is not known. A pier was afterwards begun, but never finished. It is a work much wanted in that place.

† Town Records.

men were obliged to cut the ice, in order to get their shallops into the cove.* As will easily be supposed, the weather is very bleak here in winter, but it is delightfully cool and salubrious in summer, and at all seasons very healthful. Amidst all the exposures necessary to their occupation, the inhabitants have seldom need of a physician; and no one of this profession has lived on the island for more than twenty years.† The inhabitants are not remarkable for longevity. A considerable number perish at sea. "In 1632, a fishing shallop at the Isle of Shoals was overset."‡ Many boats and men were destroyed by a violent N. E. storm in February, 1695; and the year following, six or seven boats were taken by the French.§ In the winter of 1801, a fishing schooner, with all her hands, was lost in the same way. Such accidents have very frequently happened to the inhabitants of these isles; but we have not dates or particulars of these events.

Productions.] These islands lie in common, except a few small inclosures for gardens and mowing ground; the former yielding to their proprietors a scanty supply of roots, and other garden stuff for summer; the latter from about three to six tons of hay.‖ A few willows and lombardy poplars, planted by the inhabitants, are the only trees on these islands. Whortle-berries, choak-plums, and a few cranberries, are found on Hog and Haley's isles.

Water.] There are no fresh-water streams on these islands, and but one perennial spring, which is on Hog island.¶ The wells, which are rare, are none of them

* Kelley's Journal MS.

† The physicians of Portsmouth have usually attended the sick on these isles.

‡ Winthrop's Journal, p. 37.

§ Kelley's Journal.

‖ A woman, by the name of *Pusley*, died on Star island about the year 1795, nearly 90 years old. In her lifetime she kept two cows. The hay, on which they fed in winter, she used to cut in summer, among the rocks, with a *knife*, with her own hands. She usually collected in this way about half a ton. Her cows, it was remarked, were always in excellent order. They were taken from her, and paid for, by the British, about the year 1775, and killed, to the no small grief of the good old woman. The beef was pronounced to be of the very best kind.

¶ See the petition of Cutts, &c. under another head.

more than twelve feet deep, generally less. The clouds furnish the inhabitants with the greater part of their water for domestic uses.

Fort.] On the west point of Star island, on an eminence, are the ruins of a small fort, which was defended formerly by nine cannon, four-pounders. This fort was dismantled at the commencement of the late war, and the cannon carried to Newburyport.

Population.] For more than a century previous to the American revolutionary war, these islands, considering their size and situation, were populous, containing from three to six hundred souls. On Hog island, which is now without an inhabitant, there were between twenty and thirty families, who, in general, were good livers. In so prosperous a state were these islands formerly, that gentlemen, from some of the principal towns on the sea coast, sent their sons here for literary instruction. They had a court-house on Haley's island; a meeting-house, first on Hog island, and afterwards on Star island. This island, under the jurisdiction of New-Hampshire, was erected into a town, by the name of *Gosport*,* (at some former period called *Appledore*), which was organized with the proper officers, and its political concerns managed with great propriety. But it was found that these islands afforded sustenance, and recruits, to the enemy, early in the war; in consequence, the inhabitants were ordered to quit the islands. In obedience to government, the greater part of the people dispersed into the seaport towns along the coast, and most of them never after returned. About twenty families removed to Old-York, where their descendants now live. The few who remained, four or five families excepted, have been a miserable set of beings, extremely poor, dirty, and wicked. In the autumn of 1800, there were but eighteen families on all these islands, fifteen on Star, and three on Haley's island, containing in all 112 souls. These islands, being probably the best situation for carrying on the fisheries in America, if the patronage of government could be extended to them, and a few men of capital, industry and integrity were to establish themselves here, might furnish

* In 1728, *Gosport* paid into the treasury of New-Hampshire £16–00–4, as her proportion of a tax of £1000.

employment, support, and even affluence, to 600, or even 1000 people; and be an excellent nursery for seamen to man our infant navy.

PRESENT STATE OF THESE ISLANDS.] At the close of the year 1800, there were, on Haley's island, three decent dwelling houses, occupied by Mr. Haley, an ingenious and respectable old gentleman, of seventy-six, and his two sons, with their families. In these three families were twenty souls. Mr. Haley has expended a handsome fortune in erecting the expensive wall before mentioned, wharves, and other useful works. Among these are a wind-mill, rope-walk, 270 feet long, salt-works, erected before the war, a bake-house, brewery, distillery, built in 1783, and a blacksmith's and cooper's shop. These works, in consequence of the unprosperous state of these islands, are all going to decay.

On Star island, are eleven dwelling-houses, if they may be so called. Four excepted, they appear to be, of all abodes of human beings, the most loathsome. In the fall of 1800, by the hand of charity, they received some slight repairs. Interspersed among these, are ten other buildings for curing and storing fish.

FISHERIES.] Before the war, when the islands were in a flourishing state, there were annually caught here, and cured for the market, from *three* to *four thousand* quintals of fish. At that time, seven or eight schooners, besides boats, were employed in this business; and some used to extend their fishing voyages to the banks of Newfoundland.

About the year 1730, and afterwards, the fisheries on these islands increased to that degree, that three or four ships used to load here, annually, with winter and spring merchantable fish, for Bilboa, in Spain, and smaller vessels for other places. Besides, a large quantity of cod and scale fish were carried to Portsmouth, for the West-India market.*

The usual drink of the fishermen, at that period, was a liquor which they called *bounce*, composed of two thirds *spruce beer* and one third *wine*. But, in a course of years, they gradually left off the use of this wholesome drink, and substituted in its place, ardent spirits, which

* MS. letter from C. Chauncey, Esq.

has been a principal mean of the lamentable degeneracy of these people.*

Whale-boats, only, are now employed in this fishery. In the autumn of 1800, 13 boats, 10 owned on Star, and three on Haley's island, belonged to these islanders. From a thousand to fifteen hundred quintals of fish are caught here annually; from 100 to 250 quintals of which are what is called *winter* or *dumb fish.* In the winter and spring of 1800, when bait was plenty, and the season favourable, about 300 quintals of winter fish were taken; in 1788, when bait was scarce, and the season bad, only thirty-five quintals were caught.

The winter or dumb fish are thought, by the fishermen, to be a "fairer, larger, and thicker fish," than those caught in the same places in summer. This difference may probably be satisfactorily accounted for, from the difference in the season of the year. The winter and summer fish are doubtless of the same species. They are cured also in the same manner, except that the former, on account of the coldness of the weather, require less salt. The trouble of taking and curing the winter fish is much greater than of the summer, because the days are shorter, and the season unfavourable for drying them. The hardships endured in taking the winter fish are inconceivable by all but eye witnesses. In summer, the fishing is carried on chiefly in the night.

The following is the process of making the fish.

The fish, in the first place, are thrown from the boats in piles on the shore. The *cutter* then takes them and cuts their throats, and rips open their bellies. In this state he hands them to the *header*, who takes out the entrails, (detaching the livers, which are preserved for the sake of the oil they contain) and breaks off their heads. The *splitter* then takes out the back-bone, and splits them completely open, and hands them to the *salter* who salts and piles them in bulk, where they lie from ten to twenty hours, as is most convenient. The shoremen and the women then wash and spread them on the flakes. Here they remain three or four weeks, according to the weather; during which time they are often turned, piled

* MS. letter from C. Chauncey, Esq.

in fagots, and then spread again, till they are completely cured for the market.

The winter or dumb fish lie from ten to fourteen days in salt, and are very carefully dried, and secured in bad weather. The season for catching and curing these fish is from February to May, as the weather will allow.

The haddock and hake (there is a great resemblance between these fishes) are caught in summer and fall, during the night. They lie in pickle from twelve to thirty-six hours, and then are *dry salted;* after which they are spread upon the flakes; and in good weather, their cure is completed in a week.

The fish of all kinds, made on these islands, have the preference in market, and command a higher price. The dumb fish is consumed chiefly in New-England, and is considered, by connoisseurs in fish, the best in the world. Its price is from six to ten dollars a quintal.

The hake is shipped to the West-Indies, to Spain, &c. The price at the Shoals is commonly about *two dollars* a quintal. The spring fish, which is next in quality to the dumb fish, is usually sent to Maderia. The summer codfish, called Jamaica fish, which goes to the West-Indies, is about three dollars a quintal.

From the year 1754, to 1771, it appears from the records, that the salary of the Rev. Mr. Tucke was paid him in merchantable winter fish, a quintal a man. There were from eighty to a hundred men then on these islands; and a quintal of fish was estimated at a guinea. His salary was considered, in his situation, as one of the most valuable, at that time, in New-England.

MISCELLANIES, HISTORICAL AND HUMOROUS.] Mr. *William Pepperell*, and a Mr. *Gibbons*, from Topsham, in the west of England, two respectable gentlemen, were among the first settlers at the Shoals. For a year or two they carried on the fisheries in this place. They soon found it too limited for their views, and concluded to remove to some part of the main. To determine them whither they should go, they set up each a stick, and left them to fall as *Providence* should direct. *Pepperell's* fell N. W. *Gibbons's* fell towards the N. E. Each pursued, with enthusiasm, the course his stick pointed him; and the former established himself at the mouth

of Piscataway river; the latter is said to have obtained a grant of the tract, since called the *Waldo Patent.**

The following curious petition, &c. with the annexed remarks, were handed to the writer of the foregoing, by the Hon. David Sewall, Esq. of York.

*The humble petition of Richard Cutt and —— Cutting, sheweth*, That *John Renolds*, contrary to an act in court, that *no woman shall live upon the Isle of Shoals*, hath brought his wife thither, with an intention there to live and abide; and hath also brought upon Hog Island, a great stock of goats and hogs, which doth not only spoile and destroy much fish, to the great damage of several others, and likewise many of your petitioners; but also doth spoile *the spring of water* that is on that island, by making it unfit or serviceable for any manner of use, *which is the only relief and sustenance of all the rest of the islands.* Your petitioners, therefore, pray that the said Renolds may be ordered to remove his said goats and swine from the islands forthwith. Also that the act of court, before mentioned, may be put in execution, to the *removal of all women from inhabiting there;* and your petitioners shall pray, &c."

*Order of Court on the above.*

"Whereas, by the abovementioned request, the general complaint of the chief of the fishermen, and others, of the Isle of Shoals, that it is a great annoyance and prejudice for Mr John Renolds to keep his swine and goats at the Isle of Shoals; it is by mutual consent of this court ordered, that Mr. Renolds shall, within twenty days, remove his swine and goats, that he hath at Hog Island, from thence, or any of those islands, that are inhabited with fishermen. And as for *the removal of his wife*, it is thought fit, if no further complaint come against her, *she may as yet enjoy the company of her husband.* Dated the 20th of Oct. 1647."

Why a resolve or ordinance should have been made to prevent the residence of women at the Shoals, is left to conjecture. That there was, in fact, such a resolve, (although it is not to be found on record,) seems to be recognized by the court, in their order on Cutt and

* MS. letter from C. Chauncey, Esq.

Cutting's petition against Renolds. Perhaps some women of loose morals had occasionally gone thither, and disturbed the inhabitants; a representation of which to the legislature (who, concerned for the morals of the people, appear to have exercised some extraordinary powers on certain occasions) may have induced them to pass such a resolve. On the records of Maine, is a precept from the court to a constable of Saco, to forbid a certain man, who was reported to be a married man, and to have left his wife in England, from paying his addresses to a widow woman, or even to go into her company; and upon his persisting, after such notice, to carry him before a magistrate, to give bonds to comply with the order.

While Mr. Brock resided at the Shoals, he persuaded the people to enter into an agreement, that, besides the Lord's-day, they would spend one day in every month together, in the worship of God. On a certain day, which, by their agreement, was to be devoted to the exercises of religion, the fishermen came to Mr. Brock, and requested that they might put by their meeting that day, and go a fishing, because they had lost many days by the foulness of the weather. He pointed out to them the impropriety of their request, and endeavoured to convince them that it would be far better for them to stay at home and worship God, according to their agreement, than to go a fishing. Notwithstanding his remonstrances, however, *five* only consented to stay at home, and *thirty* determined to go. Upon this, Mr. Brock addressed them thus: "As for you, who are "determined to neglect your duty to God, and go a "fishing, *I say unto you catch fish if you can.* But as for "you, who will tarry and worship the Lord Jesus Christ, "I will pray unto him for you, that you may *catch fish* "*till you are weary.*" Accordingly the *thirty* who went from the meeting, with all their skill, caught, through the whole day, but *four* fishes; while the *five*, who tarried and attended divine service, afterwards went out and caught *five hundred.**

* This story is related from Mather's Magnalia, as "credibly attested," by the Rev. Mr. Fitch, of Portsmouth, in a sermon preached at the ordination of the Rev. Mr. Tucke, July 26, 1732.

"A fisherman, who had with his boat been very helpful to carry people over a river for the worship of God, on the Lord's-day, in the Isles of Shoals, lost his boat in a storm. The poor man lamented his loss to Mr. Brock, who told him, "Go home, honest man, I will mention the matter to the Lord; you will have your boat against to-morrow." Mr. B. now considering of what consequence this matter, that seemed so small otherwise, might be among the untractable fishermen, made the *boat* an article of his prayers; and behold, on the morrow, the poor man came to him rejoicing that his boat was found; the anchor of another vessel, that was undesignedly cast upon it, having strangely brought it up, from the unknown bottom, where it had been sunk." *

During the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Moody at the Shoals, one of the fishing shallops, with all hands on board, was lost in a N. E. storm in Ipswich bay. Mr. Moody, anxious to improve this melancholy event, for the awakening of those of his hearers, who were exposed to the like disaster, addressed them in the following language, adapted to their occupation and understanding: "Supposing, my brethren, any of you should be taken short in the bay, in a N. E. storm,† your hearts trembling with fear, and nothing but death before you, whither would your thoughts turn? what would you do?"—"What would I do," replied one of these hardy sons of Neptune, "why I should immediately hoist the foresail and scud away for Squam." ‡

At a time when the famous *Low* and other pirates infested the American coast, they proved very troublesome to the fishermen at the Shoals, though they could obtain but little booty from them. One of these fishermen, (Charles Randall) with others, were taken by them, and having no property, these barbarous pirates whipped them with much severity; after which they said to them, "You know old Dr. Cotton Mather, do

* Mather's Magnalia.

† It must be noted, that when these fishermen are overtaken in the bay, between Cape Ann and the Shoals, in a N. E. storm, and the wind is so violent, that they cannot carry sail so as to beat in against it, *Squam* harbour, on the north side of Cape Ann, is their dernier resort.

‡ C. Chauncey's MS. letter.

you?"—"Yes," they replied, "we have heard of him as a very good man." "Well, then," said the pirates, "our orders are to make each of you jump up three times, and to say each time, "*Curse Parson Mather*," otherwise you are all to be hanged." To save their lives, they all complied. This information the writer of the letter had from Randall himself.*

A worthy deacon, reading the following line in the old version of the Psalms,

"And I know more than all the *Ancients* do"—

read, by mistake, thus,

"And I know more than all the *Indians* do"—

one of the assembly, who had more wit than piety, acquainted with the *craftiness* and *shrewdness* of Indians, rose and addressed the good deacon, in a loud voice, "If you do, you are a plaguy cunning man." †

At an early period after the settlement of these islands, tradition says, that a house, belonging to a Mr. *Tucker*, situated on the rocks near the water, on Haley's island,‡ during a violent storm, was washed from its foundation, and carried entire to Cape Cod, where it was taken up, and a box of linen, papers, &c. taken out of it, by which it was discovered whence it came. The family had just time to escape before the house went off.

History.] These islands, as has been already mentioned, were discovered as early as 1614. The convenience of their situation for carrying on the fisheries, which was a principal object of the first settlers, induced them to fix on these islands as a place of their first settlement. Among the first inhabitants were the respectable names of Pepperell and Gibbons; the former an ancestor of the celebrated Sir William Pepperell. The first settlers of these islands were a religious people, and felt the importance of having the worship of God regularly maintained among them. And it is remarkable, that till the year 1775 there was a constant succession of preachers of the word on these islands, though none of them except Mr. Tucke, was ordained to the pastoral office in this place.

Sometime before the year 1641, the inhabitants of

* C. Chauncey's letter. † Ibid.

‡ The spot where it stood is now shewn.

these islands erected a meeting-house on Hog island; and at this period the Rev. Mr. Hull was their minister;* he was probably the first who preached on these islands. When he began his ministry here, what was his character, and at what time he died or removed, is unknown.

About the year 1650, the Rev. John Brock was invited to take the pastoral charge of the people on these isles. This worthy man came over to America when a youth, about the year 1637; six years after he entered Harvard College; and in 1648 commenced a preacher of the gospel, first at *Rowley*, then he preached at these islands, till the year 1662, when he removed to Reading, where he continued to minister in holy things till June, 1688, when he died, in the 68th year of his age. He was a pious youth, a good man, a laborious minister, preaching not only on the sabbath, but frequent lectures, to the members of the church, and to young people. These extraordinary religious exercises, he considered as means of rendering his public labours effectual to the people of his charge. He was faithful and diligent in his pastoral visits; and from his happy talent in conversation, he made them instructive and useful. So remarkable was he for his piety and holiness, that it was said of him, by an eminent and venerable divine,† that "he dwelt as near heaven as any man upon earth." Like the martyr Stephen, he was "a man full of faith and of the Holy Ghost." Several remarkable stories, some of which are "credibly attested," illustrative of his great piety, and of the efficacy of his prayers, are recorded by Dr. Cotton Mather, in his Magnalia. Some of these are related under another head.

After the removal of Mr. Brock, the Rev. Mr. Belcher, a "worthy and excellent man,"‡ preached for some time to the people on these islands.

It was about this time that the inhabitants on Hog island, either through fear of the Indians, who frequented Duck island, and thence made their plundering excursions upon them, and carrying into captivity their women,

* Neil's History of New England, vol. i. page 196.
† Rev. Mr. J. Mitchell, of Cambridge.
‡ Mr. Fitch's sermon, before mentioned.

while they were abroad, a fishing, or from some other cause, deserted that island, and removed to Star Island, as a place of greater safety. Here they erected a new meeting-house, 28 by 48 feet, with a bell; and some years afterwards (in 1706) invited Mr. Moody, a native of Salisbury, Massachusetts, to be their minister. He was a man of piety, and a pathetic and useful preacher, and remained here till 1733, when he left the Shoals, and settled as a schoolmaster at Hampton, and afterwards at Newburyport, where he died of an apoplexy, April 17, 1768, aged 82 years. To him succeeded the Rev. John Tucke, who commenced his ministerial labours at the Shoals about the year 1730. In December of the following year, they gave him an unanimous call to settle among them in the work of the ministry, and offered him a very generous support.*

* The following extracts from the town records of Star island, alias *Gosport*, are inserted as highly honorary to the character of those concerned in the transaction recorded.

1731. The freeholders being legally warned, met on the 13th of December, 1731, and unanimously chose Rev. John Tooke † to be their minister.

They voted to give him a salary of £110, money or bills of credit, so long as it shall please God to continue him among us in the work of the ministry, nem con. Voted to pay Mr. Tooke two thirds of his salary by the last of May, annually; and one third by the last of September.

Voted, to give Mr. Tooke £50 in money, by the last of May next, towards building him a house, if he choose to build a house himself; but in case he should hereafter remove, Mr. Tooke to give to the inhabitants the refusal of purchasing the house, and to abate £50 in the price.

[N. B. This house was taken down by Mr. Tooke's son-in-law, and carried to O. York, about the year 1780.]

Voted to *give* Mr. T. a convenient place to set his house upon, and a garden spot, where he may choose.

[N. B. This was on the top of the hill, near the meeting-house, and is still reserved as a parsonage lot.]

Voted, to proceed to the ordination of Mr. Tooke, at a convenient time in the spring, in case of his acceptance of our call.

1732. *April* 28th. The freeholders of the town of Gosport, alias Star island, at a legal meeting, renewed their call to Mr. Tooke, and confirmed their former offer of support, with the addition, ☞ That as the value of money shall fall, we will make the aforesaid one hundred and ten pounds as good as it now is, and will be ready to enlarge his salary as his circumstances shall require, and our own abilities allow. [An honourable evidence of their disposition to do justice.]

† The true spelling of his name is *Tucke*.

Mr. Tucke was ordained to the work of the ministry, with the unanimous consent of the people, being the first and only minister of the gospel who was ordained

Voted, that Mr. T.'s salary should begin the 1st day of October last.

Voted, that we will give the Rev. John Tooke a constant contribution during his ministry among us; the money that shall be marked shall go towards his salary; and the money that shall not be marked, shall be given.

Voted, that we will give Mr. Tooke the privilege of keeping one cow on the aforesaid island.

The 26th of the next July was fixed for the ordination, provided the weather should permit the people on shore to come over; if not, the first suitable time after.

Voted, that the 13th day of July next, be observed as a day of fasting and prayer, to beg God's blessing on the affair of settling a minister among us.

A committee was appointed to make provision for carrying into effect the foregoing votes.

[N. B. Mr. Thomas Lambert was appointed to record these votes. They are in a very neat hand-writing, well spelt, and correct in composition. The whole proceedings remarkably regular.

*Letter to the Rev. John Tooke.*

The freeholders and inhabitants of Star island, alias Gosport, assembled at the meeting-house, on said island, this 28th day of April, wishing health.

Sir,—We at this meeting have voted and agreed to sundry things, which, by the enclosed, you will be acquainted with. Mr. Andrew Chace, sen. and Mr. Samuel Emmery, are a committee to bring your answer to this meeting, that we may proceed farther, as to what is necessary and remaining. We beg you will send your answer as soon as possible, being all waiting. We remain your most humble servants,

*John Michamere,*
*Wm. Michamere,* } Selectmen.
*Ambrose Downs,*

*Answer.*

To the freeholders and inhabitants of Star island, alias Gosport, this 28th day of April, assembled at the meeting-house on said island.

Brethren,—It is some time since you called me to the work of the ministry among you; to which call, by reason of many discouragements, and withal the very heavy stroke of Divine Providence, which has befallen me among you, has deferred my answer till this time; and now, by the committee sent to me by you, I understand that you have both renewed that call, and confirmed former offers; and also hoping that there is a prospect of doing good among you, I, relying on the strength of divine grace, accept of your call to me. But, brethren, I must say to you as in 1 Cor. ix. 14, *So hath the Lord ordained that they which preach the gospel, should live of the gospel.* The same I expect amongst you. I desire your prayers for me. In

to the pastoral office in this place.* Among the ministers, who assisted at his ordination, was the Rev. Samuel Moody, of York, who, in the course of the ordination service, used the following pertinent expressions: "Good Lord, thou hast founded a church here upon a rock; may the gates of hell never prevail against it." †

These islands, in former times, were in a very respectable and flourishing state. The inhabitants were industrious, prudent, temperate, and regular and decent in their attendance on the institutions of religion. They had magistrates and other officers annually chosen by the people, to execute their wholesome laws and regulations, and to maintain order and peace in the society. ‡ The inhabitants were respectful, kind, and generous to their minister; and considering the nature of their employment, and their consequent habits, they dwelt together in a good degree of harmony. Such appears to have been the prosperous and happy state of the inhabitants of these islands, particularly during the ministry of Mr. Tucke. This good man died, deeply and universally lamented, on the 12th of August, 1773; having buried his wife two months before. They "were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their deaths they were not divided."

Mr. Tucke was a man of an affable and amiable dispo-

praying for me, you will pray for yourselves. The Apostle says, 1st of Thessalonians, v. 25, *Brethren, pray for us.* And I hope that my poor prayers will be to God for you. I hope to say with the Apostle, Col. i. 9, *I do not cease to pray for you, and to desire that ye might be filled with the knowledge of his will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding.*

I am yours to serve in the gospel,

*Gosport, April* 28, 1732. JOHN TOOKE.

Voted, that every fall of the year, when Rev. Mr. John Tooke has his wood to carry home, every man who will not come, that is able to come, shall pay forty shillings old tenor.

* Mr. Fitch's Sermon, preached from Matth. iv. 19, at his ordination.

† Judge Sewall's letter to the author.

‡ Their records inform, that the following officers were annually chosen: A moderator, three selectmen, a constable, town-clerk, two tything-men, two cullers of fish, and two corders of wood.

sition, of easy and polite manners, of humble and unaffected piety, of diligence and fidelity in the service of the ministry. He was "given to hospitality, and apt to teach." In history and geography he was eminently learned, beyond most of his cotemporaries. He acted in the double capacity of physician of body and of soul. In imitation of his Divine Master, he went about doing good among all classes of the people of his charge, and his labours were not in vain in the Lord. Under his nurturing, pastoral care, his people increased in numbers and in wealth, in knowledge, piety and respectability. Few parishes in New-England, at this period, gave a more generous support to their minister, and few congregations were more constant and exemplary in their attendance on public worship. Such is the account of the character of this venerable man, and of the fruits of his labours, which I have received from many aged and respectable people, who were personally acquainted with him.

Shortly after the death of Mr. Tucke, the Rev. Jeremiah Shaw was invited to preach on these islands, and here he remained, for the greater part of the time, till the dispersion of the inhabitants in 1775. The troubles occasioned by the war, with some other causes, prevented his settling here, agreeably to the wishes of the people.

Since this period, so small have been the numbers, and so impoverished the circumstances of these islanders, that they have not had the ability, and, by degrees, have lost the disposition, to support the ordinances of religion. The laws and regulations, by which their fathers were governed, and which were means of preserving order and harmony in their little commonwealth, were laid aside. The people neglected the annual choice of town officers. They had no regular schools for the education of their children. The sabbath was neglected and profaned. In consequence of these deviations from the "old paths and good ways" of their fathers, the people rapidly degenerated. The vices of cursing and swearing, drunkenness, quarrelling, and disobedience to parents, became, in an awful degree, prevalent. The people have grown up in a great degree ignorant of the great doctrines and duties

of religion, and of the first rudiments of science and letters; and, in the near neighbourhood of Christians, were degenerating fast to a state of heathenism.

The deplorable state of these people, in a moral and religious view, was made known to the "Society for Propagating the Gospel," in Boston; and immediately, at their expense, a missionary was engaged, who spent three months among them, at the close of the year 1799. In the summer of 1800, the Society sent one of their own members, to inquire into the circumstances of these people, with a view to afford them the necessary relief and instruction. In consequence of his report, and the advice of *Dudly A. Tyng*, Esq. of Newburyport, who has been the prime mover and agent, in all the proceedings for the benefit of these poor people, a subscription was opened for the purpose of raising money to erect a place of worship on these islands. Gentlemen of humane feelings and of liberality, in Salem, Newburyport, Portsmouth, Exeter, Ipswich, Boston, and Charlestown, in the two places first named especially, subscribed generously; and from the avails, an edifice of stone, with a cupola, was erected in September and October, 1800, on the highest spot on Star island, which answers the treble purpose of a place of worship, a school-house, and a land-mark for seamen.* At the same time, these suffering people received a liberal supply of clothing, bedding, wood, &c. from a number of charitable people in Newburyport, Salem, and Charlestown. The Society for Propagating the Gospel, and several booksellers in Boston, gave books and stationery suited to their circumstances, sufficient, with proper usage, to last several years. A missionary, (Mr. *Josiah Stephens*) under commission from the Society for Propagating the Gospel, went to these islands in April, 1801, preaches on the sabbath, and has

* This house is 36 feet long, and 24 wide, on the outside. The walls are two feet thick, and eleven in height in the clear; the whole building is painted white. The inside is finished in a plain style, and furnished with a stove, for the accommodation of the school in winter. This house was dedicated, in a formal and solemn manner, on the 14th of Nov. 1800. The sermon was preached, and the other services performed, on this occasion, by the Rev. J. Morse, D. D. of Charlestown. His discourse was founded on Psalm cxviii. 25. "*O Lord, I beseech thee, send now prosperity.*"

a school of about thirty scholars during the week, and is evidently in a sphere of great usefulness.

From the dispersion of the inhabitants of these isles in 1775, till November 14, 1800, the few, who remained, had lived, for the most part, without law or order, destitute of the means of religious or moral instruction, and had, of course, degenerated into a pitiable state of ignorance, poverty, anarchy, and wickedness. At the period last mentioned, when their new meeting-house was dedicated, the inhabitants assembled, and, by the written compact annexed,* formed themselves into a social state, and in a formal manner, pledged themselves to abide by certain regulations, and elected two of their number, as assessors, who, with the missionary, for the time being, were invested with power to carry said compact into effect.

In consequence of all these things, these islands are renovating in their appearance; and a hope is entertained, that they will soon rise to their former state of regularity, and respectability. Should Massachusetts and New-Hampshire cede their right in these islands to the United States, (a plan which some have contemplated,) and the federal government should think it expedient to establish them as a *free port*, and form a harbour, and erect the necessary fortifications and lights, they would soon become a place of much importance to the United States.

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NOTE.

* *Articles of Agreement entered into by the Inhabitants of the Isles of Shoals, Nov.* 14, 1800.

WHEREAS the islands now commonly called *the Isles of Shoals*, but heretofore named *Smith's Island*, in honour of the renowned Capt. JOHN SMITH who first discovered them, have fallen into a lamentable state of decay, since the revolution war; and the inhabitants, from their extreme poverty, and other unhappy circumstances, have long been destitute of the means of religious and moral instruction; and whereas some pious and charitable persons have generously erected a com-

modious and durable building, to be solely appropriated to the public instruction of the inhabitants, and the Massachusetts Society for Propagating the Gospel have appointed a missionary to reside at the said islands, as a religious and moral teacher to the inhabitants, and an instructor of the youth; and whereas there is ground to hope for further charities from the said society, and other humane and benevolent persons, should the good effects of their present bounty be visible in the improvement of the morals, manners, and conversation of the inhabitants; and whereas from the local situation of the said islands, it is very difficult to resort to the laws for the decision of disputes which unavoidably arise:

We the said inhabitants do hereby solemnly and mutually covenant and agree with each other in the following articles, all which we promise to observe and keep, viz.

*First.* We engage to treat with kindness and respect all such worthy and godly persons as shall come to instruct and reform us; to render them as comfortable as we can, and to attend with sobriety and diligence on all their instructions, whether the same be public in the meeting-house, or private and personal in our own houses.

*Second.* We engage that our children shall also attend the school at the stated hours, and that we will, by setting them sober and good examples, and by needful corrections, labour to make them better, as well as more decent and mannerly in their behaviour.

*Third.* We promise our best endeavours to abstain from all brawling, quarrelling, profane swearing and cursing, drunkenness, idleness, dishonesty, and all other conduct which is offensive to God, and all good beings.

*Fourth.* Should any disputes arise amongst any of us, we promise to submit the same to the decision of the missionary for the time being, and two assessors, who shall be annually chosen in the month of January; and we promise to abide by, and perform their award touching such disputes.

*Fifth.* The house lot and garden, heretofore occupied by the Rev. Mr. Tucke, shall be forever appropriated to the use of the public teacher for the time being.

## Ecclesiastical History of Massachusetts and the old Colony of Plymouth.

### PREFACE.

DR. Mather wrote an ecclesiastical history of this country, a large book, now very rarely seen. The facts are communicated in so strange a style, and mingled with so many oddities of opinion and fabulous representations, that few are disposed to look into it for the sake of the information. Many things, there related, the candid reader imputes to the weakness of the age; the most candid will see, too often, the prejudices and false zeal of the author.

Mr. Neal published his history of New-England in 1719. It is well written, and deserves more credit than Hutchinson allows, when he says, it is only an *abridgment of the Magnalia Americana.* It is an impartial and entertaining account of their civil and ecclesiastical affairs. Some things are contained in it, which were not known either to Dr. Cotton Mather, or any other writer of this "American strand."

It is superior in style to the later work of Gov. Hutchinson, though the materials for history were much greater which this gentleman possessed; and we are indebted to him for many facts, in the early periods of the settlement, which, but for his care, would have been entirely lost; also for a fund of information, concerning the country, after he had become a leader in the public transactions.

The compiler of the present work confines himself to ecclesiastical history, having consulted many old MSS. beside all the printed accounts of the congregational churches; and he prefers to publish in the Historical Collections, where many useful, interesting, and important documents are preserved, which will be of infinite service to future writers, as they have been to himself.

After giving an account of the church in New-Plymouth, and the ancient form in Massachusetts, he will consider the changes which have been made, the prevailing opinions, the controversies among those of the congregational mode of worship, as well as those which have been carried on with churches of other denominations; and to exhibit to view the present *state* of religion.

Hubbard's MS. has afforded him some assistance, a book excellent of the kind, and which ought to have been printed many years ago, for its historical information, and the reputation of the author. He was the best writer in New-England while he lived; learned, judicious, and capable of giving a proper arrangement to his facts. With exception to a few quaint expressions, common to all the puritan divines in England, as well as North-America, this book is valuable for the composition. Why was it never published? He left it complete, and a fair copy was transcribed for the press. It fell into the hands of some, who were disposed to make a liberal use of it for their own purposes, and then kept it from the public eye. All who have written any account of Massachusetts, are more indebted to it than they are willing to own; yet there is not even a biographical sketch of the man to be found. We know, however, that he left behind him a good name, which is better, in the opinion of the wise, than any *perfume* or *niche* in the temple of fame.

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## Section I.

*Account of the First Church in Plymouth. The Piety and Sufferings of the Planters. The good Order of the Church, and Difficulties attending the Settlement of a Pastor.*

A SPIRIT of enterprise has often made the discovery of new countries, and to this, combined with a love of science in the breast of Columbus, we are indebted for the knowledge of our part of the globe. But it was the love of religion, which prompted the settlers of New-England to prefer the wilderness of distant climes to the ease and affluence they could enjoy at home.

It was not their object to open new and rich sources of commerce, like the merchants and princes of Portugal; nor to plan schemes of speculation, which so often proved vain and chimerical to individuals of other European nations, when they were stimulated by the desire of gain; but *they* were the fairest patterns of religious zeal, of firmness, patience, and heroic virtue: they were men whose

souls were tried by the most adverse circumstances, and yet not subdued by the blows of their adversity. Their hopes gilded the scenes around them; and while they looked at the *land of promise*, they were more distinguished by active and social virtues, than vain contemplations.

According to the Abbe Raynal, "*Superstition* first settled New-England." He calls every thing *superstition*, which is of a religious nature. What the best writers describe the *sentiment of the heart*, HE calls the effusion of a *weak mind*. That which has been considered in all ages, and by men of the most enlarged understanding, as the offspring of heaven, is confounded by him with the creatures of a vain imagination. He might have said, it was the "concussion of religious opinions," which is a favourite expression of his, upon some occasions, and come near the truth, as well as saved his reflections upon christianity.

Another writer goes further than the Abbe R. and calumniates the character of our ancestors in every respect; for he says, "the inhabitants of America are of a bad stock, from the dupes of *puritanick cant*, from sour, tasteless asceticks, whose tempers desired anarchy while at home, and practised intolerance abroad." *

This man seems to have an idea, that the religious spirit is an *innate traditional* evil, which he would find a mistake if he had tarried long enough in the country to observe *our manners*, instead of running through the States for the sake of telling the world how far he had travelled. It is well known, that too many of the present generation are wholly unmindful of the principles and practices of their fathers; and too many join in the sarcasms of the French philosophy, or some other style, *as anti-puritanick* as this writer would wish, when they are told what *grave and good men their fathers were:* — Pious men, who made this declaration, "that it was for the glory of God, and the propagation of the gospel, that they transplanted themselves from his Majesty's dominions to these *almost unknown regions of the west.*"

* The author above mentioned freely grants, that these men were the best progenitors of the present race of Americans; for he says, "the transported felons, who contributed to settle Virginia, have left behind them a race of drunken, gambling, lewd, rapacious spendthrifts; keen, quick, courageous, hospitable race." *Don Von Bulow.*

The form of church government our fathers preferred was completely congregational; this has distinguished the churches in Massachusetts and the old Colony from the other churches which have been formed, and approached more or less to the Presbyterian establishment. They did not choose to be called Independents. This name the churches of Massachusetts disclaimed, as we see frequently in their charges to candidates for the ministry, though it might have been given them with some propriety, as most of Mr. Robinson's church had been Puritans of the most rigid separation, in a former reign. When they came to America, however, they possessed sentiments of moderation, which would do honour to any denomination of Christians. Vid. his address in Prince's Annals.

We must ascend to the first reformers, to get an idea of the principles and motives of separation from the other protestant churches, and which distinguished those who have been styled, in later times, the members of the congregational establishment. The reformation was gradually introduced into England. King Henry the VIIIth, though he cast off the Pope supremacy, and happily introduced the scriptures for the use of the people, retained in his heart a fondness for the superstitions of the church of Rome, and was too haughty a despot to have his will disputed. In the reign of Edward the VIth, whose character the friends of virtue are so fond of delineating, and whose premature death caused so many tears of humanity to be shed, the work of reformation succeeded. Those who conducted it were liberal and devout men, and wished to make the sacred scriptures the guide of their faith and practice, and to diffuse them among all the classes of the community. But the light of truth was soon obscured, and the day, which was ushered in with such a bright and beautiful morning, hung heavily in clouds: For Mary, a weak and malicious bigot, became a Queen. During her reign, all, who were attached to civil or religious freedom, suffered; and it was a crime to love one's country. In an island, where so many have thought it decorous to die for it, this was made a terrible crime; the torch of persecution flamed against all who dissented from the minutest ceremonies of the Romish

church; and no wonder that the reformers were inveloped in the thickest dangers. Some poured out their blood on the scaffold, many hung their harps upon the willows in a foreign land.

When Queen Elizabeth succeeded to the kingdom, upon the death of her sister, the reformation was taken up where Edward had left it. It was the design of several eminent persons to carry on the work to a degree of purity which the national church were not willing to allow: they were desirous to proceed till the worship and discipline should be divested of those rites and ceremonies, which they looked upon as the inventions of men; and therefore a disgrace, rather than an ornament, to the church of Christ. If they could not obtain what they *most* earnestly desired, *to have these uninstituted rites entirely excluded, and their worship reduced to its primitive simplicity;* yet they pleaded to have *things left indifferent*, which were so in their *nature*.

But a most powerful party sprung up to oppose them. It was the interest of such as disliked the reformation, to prevent a further secession from the church of Rome than was contemplated by some, and they joined their power and influence to set aside the views of the Puritans. The Queen was fond of show and pomp in religion, and soon declared herself on the side of those who were ready to establish a national church, with many gorgeous appendages: and being importuned by the high church party; being also imperious in her own temper, obstinate in her prejudices, and impatient of contradiction; she set herself not only to restrain, but to punish those who resisted her will. The establishment would have been easily borne, had those who differed been allowed to worship God in their own way, or according to the dictates of their consciences. But such an intolerant spirit prevailed, that if any scrupled entire conformity, or used a form except that contained in the *book* of common prayer, they were silenced and fined, deprived, censured and imprisoned.

Some time elapsed in fruitless expectation of better days; then, as their own condition grew intolerable, they were induced to separate not only from the church of England, but from a government that was so arbi-

trary. They formed a church on independent principles, and set themselves down in Holland; where, for some years, they enjoyed the pleasures of religious freedom, and contemplated the great events which were conceiving in the womb of Providence.

The first congregational church, since the days of primitive Christianity, was gathered at Geneva, and the Rev. William Whittingham was chosen pastor; a famous Puritan, who fled from England in the reign of Queen Mary, leaving an estate of £1100 sterling a year, which was a great estate in those times, and shews how conscientious principles will subdue the passion of avarice in good minds.

It is very wrong to class the *Congregational* churches with the *Brownists.* Though individuals had been connected with Brown, and, supposing him honest and zealous in the cause of truth, had not been sensible enough of the consequences where there is such a latitude of opinion and imprudence of conduct, yet the churches in general disclaimed that church anarchy which it was his design to introduce, nor were they guilty of the like extravagances.

*Oldmixon* styles the members of Mr. Robinson's churches, in general, *Brownists;* and says that they were driven to the extreme they went, by the persecution of the *high church party.* And, as though this was against their reputation, Mr. Prince takes pains to exculpate them. But whatever Mr. Robinson might have written in favour of ecclesiastical democracy, it is evident *his* character is very good; and why should this bring any discredit upon the New-England churches, who conducted all their ecclesiastical business with decency and order?

When James ascended the throne, the Puritans flattered themselves they should have indulgence at least, if they were not openly patronized and supported; as he had been educated a Presbyterian, and frequently had spoken against the Episcopal church. But they soon found their mistake. Arbitrary in his disposition, and pushed on by an intolerant, bigoted clergy, he was inimical equally to civil and religious liberty. He carried his measures with a higher hand than his predecessor had done in the plenitude of her power and self-complacen-

cy; whose wisdom was much greater, and who was much better acquainted with the people of England. Her nobleness of disposition, also, made her ashamed of many things which were quite congenial to his weak mind. Those who had emigrated to Holland, seeing no prospect of returning to their own country, then turned their thoughts to America. "The reasons of their removal were debated in public and private; and a very considerable part of the church were persuaded that it was a call from heaven; and had not this sentiment prevailed, it would have been very difficult to fix their resolutions and act with unanimity."* These are the words of a worthy writer; and, if we may be allowed to mingle our observations with his, may we not say, that except a sense of religion has its influence upon mankind, we should *want*, upon occasions less important, *something* to rest our wearied expectations upon, to animate our hopes, and to prevent uncertain prospects from settling into despondency and gloom?

Mr. Neal mentions, as a reason why Mr. Robinson advised that they should seek out a new settlement, the fear lest the church should be dissolved, several members dying, and others mingling with the Dutch. Hence they resolved to transport themselves to America.

All who write the history of these times allow, that our fathers supported a most excellent character in Holland. It is much to their credit, that they lived among themselves, and in peace with their neighbours; and that this testimony is given of them, "that for the ten years they lived there, they could bring no suit or accusation against them."

In the 95th number of the New-England Courant, a paper printed by the Franklins, is the following letter. "In the year 1610, a number of christians from the north of England, having Mr. John Robinson for their pastor, removed to Leyden in Holland, that they might peaceably worship God according to the institutions of the gospel, which they could not do in their own land. Thirteen of this congregation, not liking the baseness of the Dutch, nor to lose their interest in the English nation, did think and agree about removing across the At-

* Hubbard.

lantick. Part of them were to do it before the rest, to see what encouragement they could find. Accordingly, part of them, among whom was Mr. Brewster, the assistant of Mr. Robinson, removed from Holland the latter end of June, 1620, and arrived at Cape Cod in November, the same year. At this place they drew up an engagement, acknowledging themselves the subjects of king James, and combining themselves into a body politick, and became the first colony of New-England. From Cape Cod they went one way and another, to find a convenient place of abode, and at length settled together at Plymouth; and were the first church in New-England; the only one till 1629."

The character of Mr. Robinson was very respectable in the line of his profession. He had great wisdom and worth, as we learn from the account, not only of the members of his church, but his other contemporaries, and from his writings. These discover a talent for reasoning, and close attention to theology. Mr. Bradford * says that he was prevailed upon by the Calvinists, to dispute publickly with Episcopius, who led in the controversy which then engaged the attention of the *reformed churches;* and which has been since the cause of difference, and frequently a contentious spirit, in the churches of America as much as Europe. Episcopius was the champion of the doctrines propagated by James Arminius, who was first the disciple of Beza and Calvin, but afterwards changed his opinion, and opposed the sentiments taught in their school. The opinions of Arminius received great support from the reputation and learning of Episcopius, who emitted *theses*, and engaged to defend them against *original sin*, *particular election*, and other points of doctrine. By his zeal and knowledge, his skill in managing a controversy, many of the first characters of Leyden, and the Dutch republick, were brought over to the same way of thinking, and declared the full conviction of their minds, that the great light of Geneva had mistaken the sense of the scriptures.

Mr. Robinson stepped forward to defend the doctrines of Calvin, and was superior to Episcopius, according to

* The MS. of Gov. Bradford is lost, except the few extracts to be found in *Prince's* Annals.

the account given of the dispute by the members of his church. Whether the admirers of Episcopius thought so, we are not convinced, as no other account of the matter is handed down to us. Perhaps the prejudices of opinion and friendship might influence each party to think their champion victorious; and on each side might mingle shades of error with the light of truth. The zeal of many absorbed all their *moderation* at that time; and it had the same effect upon the deliberations of statesmen, as upon the sentiments of divines, issuing in tumults, as little congenial to true policy, as the spirit of the gospel.*

But it is not connected with my plan, to consider the state of Europe, or the effect of religious prejudices upon the inhabitants of other countries, only as these introduced events, which were combined with the character and conduct of our ancestors, who were pious men, strictly Calvinistical in their principles, exemplary in their walk and conversation. Whenever they manifested more zeal than candour, (which some men in all ages have done), it was owing to their attachment to peculiar principles, and thinking others must be inconsistent and absurd, who had a different kind of belief.

If Mr. Robinson was selected to manage the dispute, it shews the confidence they had in his abilities. If he thought himself equal to the controversy, his enthusiasm was more prominent than his talents; or, to say the least, it remains uncertain whether the vigour of his mind or *saint-like* zeal were most conspicuous. A bold disputant may appear by *his manner* to gain an advantage, when he has really weakened his argument by his declamation. Zeal is the first thing requisite for public disputants when popular assemblies are to judge; and he who thinks himself in the right supposes others confuted who differ, whatever opinion candid people, not interested in the controversy, may see fit to embrace.

Had Mr. Robinson came over to Plymouth, it would have been of great advantage to the settlement. He had been convinced of some of his errors, those obliquities of sentiment concerning the discipline and worship of the congregational churches; and he was a man so judicious in other respects, that he was capable of giving them advice and direction in all their affairs. But it

* Vid. Histoire medallique des Hollandois.

pleased heaven to cut short his days in the midst of his usefulness. We can see only a short way into the scheme of providence; what we know not now, we may know hereafter. His friends in Holland were soon deprived of his instructions and society. And his friends, who longed to hear his voice in this American wilderness, which they were subduing with great labour, and in the midst of dangers, had to *sorrow* that they should see his face no more. The news was more grievous to the members of his church, because it came in a time of their mourning for their friends and relatives, who were swept away by a raging pestilence. This was a wound which called up all the feelings of their hearts.

Among the very active and sensible persons of this Leyden congregation, who came over to Plymouth, was Mr. Brewster, an elderly, worthy man, to whom the colony felt indebted for good services in the first period of their settlement.

The English historians speak of them all as of the rigid separation, and most of them had been, without doubt, violent in their opposition to the episcopal church, especially to their forms and ceremonies, and had blamed the other Puritans for things which only discovered more prudence, and were worthy of commendation. Mr. Brewster acted as elder of the church, but no one was looked upon as their pastor; and for a long time this first church of New-England wanted a man to execute this office. We, who make no such distinction of offices, think it strange that there should have been such difference between pastor and teaching elders; for we suppose, any man, who can feed the people with knowledge, is qualified for one office equally with another. But it appears from the ecclesiastical history of this country, that a very great distinction was made in the early state of their settlement. They esteemed many to be excellent *teachers*, whom they would not endow with the *pastoral care*. It was offered to Mr. Brewster, but he was too modest to accept it; and the church, not being able to procure such a teacher as would unite the offices, were for many years like sheep without a shepherd. They had assistance from the magistrates, who were wise and devout men. It was then requisite to the character of a

governor to be a man of piety, and able to expound the scriptures, which led those in civil office to interest themselves in all the concerns of the churches. We have a particular instance, in Winthrop's Journal, of the conduct of our rulers. He tells, that "he went to Plymouth, attended the church meeting, and prophesied."

Mr. Hubbard says, "that a christian church, to carry on the forms of worship, must have suitable officers; but the church of Plymouth were a very serious people, who knew their own principles; not like many of their followers in some parts of the country, properly termed *Seekers*, of which it may be said, as our Lord speaks of the Samaritans, *They know not what spirit they were of.*

It may be proper to mention other gentlemen, beside Mr. Brewster, who were officers of this congregational church, and who assisted in every part of worship, except the administration of the ordinances, which was peculiar to the office of Pastor. Governor Carver was deacon of the first church, as well as chief magistrate of the colony. He was elected to this office while they were in Holland, at the same time with Mr. Samuel Fuller, "an eminent surgeon, and man of great piety." The deacons they chose, after they arrived here, were Mr. Richard Masterson and Mr. Thomas Blossom, whose praise is yet in the church at Plymouth. They were useful men, famed for their virtues, diligence, and active services.*

There was a distinction made in the first church between a *ruling elder* and *teaching elder*, beside the distinction we have observed between pastor and teacher. This was owing to the peculiar desire of these good men to preserve every name mentioned in the evangelical writings, without considering that the discipline of the church is *discretionary*, and must be adapted, in some measure, to local situation, circumstances of the age, or that many things were very unnecessary in succeeding ages, that might be very proper for the primitive church. How far the churches in Massachusetts fell in with the sentiment of their brethren at Plymouth, and how far this entered into the platform of their church agreed upon at Cambridge; whether it was a partial or universal rule; when alterations were made, and why the

* Cotton's Relation of the Church in Plymouth.

office of ruling elder is now laid aside, may become suitable topics of discussion in the course of this history.

Mr. Brewster was made *ruling elder* in the church of Plymouth, and united this with the business of instruction, to which he had been confined. He continued thus to perform the several duties till his death, and was succeeded by Mr. Thomas Cushman, son of Robert Cushman, one of the most important and worthy characters among those who formed the first settlement.*

In March, in the year 1624, Mr. Lyford came over to Plymouth. When he first came, he discovered such fondness in the mode of his salutation, that he would have kissed their hands who extended them in the common tokens of friendship; but this loving brother, and hollow saint, soon manifested that the kiss of charity was accompanied with the smile of deceit. He is represented, by Morton, as a man who "croucheth and humbleth himself;" and as a treacherous Ismael, who killed Gedeliah, according to what we read in the prophecy of Jeremy. The worthies of the new settlement gave him a very cordial reception, and supposed he would be a great help to them in their solitary condition. The governor treated him with the like respect as he did Mr. Brewster.

But although this man was admitted to the church, and made great professions of his goodness, confession of former wickedness, and declarations of the soundness of his faith, he spit the venom of the asp from his tongue, and discovered the malignity of a demon, who was sent to mar the happiness of the settlement and disturb the peace of the church. The air was tainted with the slanders he wrote and spread for the service of men who were enemies of the plantation: for such men there were in the old country, both of the clergy and the state, who seemed determined to persecute this little flock, that had fled into the wilderness, as if the sandy deserts were too good for them.

One letter in particular the governor intercepted. A

* Mr. Robert Cushman preached to these pilgrims, our venerable fathers, in 1621. The sermon contains the best advice, and may be read by their posterity, for other reasons beside this, that it is a curiosity worth preserving among the ancient things of this country. The text is 1 Cor. x. 21.

prudent use was made of it, till he could expose all the scenes of his villany.*

In describing the state of things appertaining to the ecclesiastical History of New-England, I am necessarily led to speak of civil history, which I would avoid as much as possible; leaving this to those whose opportunities and diligence of research enable them to give a fairer and more complete view of the subject: but it is well known that our fathers blended religion with all their concerns; and when civil transactions are necessarily mingled with the account of the church, should one part only be mentioned, the relation would be lame, for want of the connexion it had with the other.

I have no doubt that the behaviour of Lyford sprung from political motives. He was calculated to serve the views of certain mercenary wretches, who sent him to America with lucrative, and *not* pious intentions; or else he was employed by those, who, being inimical to all dissenters from the established church, and every species of republican government, wished to destroy this rising commonwealth. King James only connived at the settlement. He did not tolerate principles and practices which opposed ecclesiastical dominion; and especially was his ire excited, when men despised the *folly*, which is sometimes equal to the *fury* of *despotism*. The spies of Charles's court would also search the uttermost parts of the earth, for the sake of destroying men's liberty.

* It seems this Lyford, with others, especially Mr. Oldham, intended to make a separation or division in the church; to alter the government, and become men of distinction, as many turbulent spirits have done, who have soon fallen from the high places where their own giddy imaginations have placed them. Too many are ready to do mischief, when they are active, and want the disposition to do good. It was fortunate for the country, that such schemes as Lyford and Oldham contrived for the destruction of New-Plymouth, were so early frustrated, and that they lost their influence before they could make the worst use of it. They progressed, however, so far as to set up a different place of worship, and made every attempt to disorganize the first church. They left the communion without acquainting the officers and brethren, or speaking to the governor upon the subject, and met by themselves every *Lord's-day*. Beside this open violation of their duty, they were guilty of other insults of the authority, of wicked plots and practices, inconsistent with the character of good men, and members of the *commonwealth*, and wholly opposite to the *spirit, precepts*, and *institutions* of Christianity.

From long experience in human artifice and deception they well knew that a man must *seem to be religious* to carry a point against a people, who lived in all "good conscience," and, for the enjoyment of religion, had left their native land.

Lyford was so well instructed, as to act his part admirably well: for he joined this community of christians, and was so zealous, that they would have chosen him for their minister. He actually obtained the confidence of Moses and Aaron, to whom Gov. Bradford and Mr. Brewster bore some resemblance, according to the style of our early writers. One of them says, "that the church was troubled with a factious spirit, which arose from a man who came over to New-England with the best of characters, but with what frequently answers for worst of moral excellencies, a zeal to do more than others; and hence a great confidence was put in him by the Governor, and by the members of the church. He was of their communion till he set up a different place of worship; and there he administered the sacraments till he was brought to a humble confession of all his wickedness, and was put under censure. He appeared at first sincere, and acknowledged the lenity of the people towards him, and then played the hypocrite by writing against the country, and justifying his former writings. The time being expired for his censure to take place, he gave no evidence of his reformation; but other crimes appearing against him, he was banished. He went to Nantasket, then to Salem, and afterwards to Virginia, where he died."

The conduct of Oldham is less connected with the history of the church, and needs not to be pointed out so minutely in this work. Suffice it to say, that he lived some time after he left Plymouth, and obtained credit again with the people, so that they permitted him to trade till he was killed by the Indians. This unhappy event has been often mentioned; and no wonder it should claim such particular notice, as it was the origin of the Pequod war.

The discipline of the church was very strict. It accorded with their ideas, though perhaps their ideas were not exactly scriptural, or so near as they imagined to the foundation of the prophets and apostles. They pro-

ceeded with much regularity, and the members generally submitted to the rules prescribed for their conduct. As those men lost their reputation, who excited difficulties, such, on the other hand, as had a high reputation in the church for their piety and christian graces, were most likely to be distinguished with the first honours in their civil society. Offenders could not escape ecclesiastical censure; but were obliged to submit, and to study a greater decorum of behaviour; and thus the dignity of the christian profession was preserved; a church began to blossom in the wilderness, and to make these solitary places rejoice with the consoling beams of evangelical truth, which had been hidden in pagan darkness.

The fathers of New-Plymouth were without a pastor to rule and administer the ordinances till the year 1629, when they were increased by numbers, who had belonged to Mr. Lathrop's church in England, and also by as many as thirty-five families of those who were associated with them in Leyden; to whose assistance they cheerfully contributed, looking unto another world for the reward. They certainly could never expect a return of what they expended, which was equal to £5000 sterling; a great sum to be taken from these mansions of poverty; but "where the spirit of religion influences people, they are rich in the fruits of benevolence."

Mr. Ralph Smith then came over to Massachusetts; and at the desire of the church in Plymouth, connected himself in the pastoral relation, for which he was not qualified. It is said that he wanted candour, prudence, knowledge, and experience, and resembled his predecessors in nothing, except that he was of the strictest sect of the Puritans. Such a man was no way fit to come after Mr. Robinson, who was exemplary and learned; so judicious as to advise his people to avoid his errors, and be guided by the wisdom which is without partiality, which is pure and peaceable; gentle, and easy to be intreated, proceeding from the Father of lights. But Mr. Smith was zealous and imprudent: his zeal was that ebullition of temper, which has done much mischief in society, as well as created confusions in the church; which leads to follies and extravagance, and stirs up all manner of party spirit.

No one,* therefore, could be more unfit to settle with a people so well instructed in righteousness, acquainted with the principles of christianity, and used to such order in the church. Mr. Smith soon laid down his office, and this reflection was made: "That many times the total vacancy of an office is easier to be borne, than the under-performance of it." †

Mr. Cotton, who wrote a particular relation of the first church in Plymouth to the year 1760, being in possession of the records and other authentic documents, speaks of Mr. R. Smith, ‡ "as a man who was chosen the pastor after some time of trial; a grave man, who continued in the ministry four or five years. But finding him a man of low parts and gifts, they, as Providence gave opportunity, improved others as his assistants; particularly Roger Williams, a young man of bright accomplishments, but unstable judgment, who preached among them four years. But at last, beginning to vent some errors, which were disagreeable to the church, they, at his desire, gave him a dismission to the church of Salem; where, being called to office, he openly propagated his principles, and did much mischief, as the ecclesiastical historians of this country give an account. The next year, Mr. Smith resigned his ministry, partly of his own accord, as thinking it too heavy a burden; and by the persuasion of others, who apprehended him not sufficiently qualified for the work."

During the time of Mr. Smith's ministry, they employed Mr. Edward Winslow, who was sent agent to England, to procure them a minister, as colleague with Mr. Smith. He accordingly agreed with Mr. Glover, an able dispenser of the word of God, to come over with them; but he ended his life in London, soon after his engagement. Afterwards, Mr. Winslow providentially meeting with that worthy man, Mr. John Norton, then intending for New-England, he treated with him about supplying Plymouth, and coming over with Mr. Winslow; he landed there, and preached with them one winter, but declined settling, though earnestly pressed to it.

* Except Mr. Rogers, who came over in 1628, without any particular invitation; who, being subject to fits of insanity, created only the expense of sending him back.

† Hubbard's MSS. ‡ Hist. Collect vol. iii.

Thus was this poor church, as Mr. Cotton observes, disappointed from time to time in their attempts to settle the gospel among them, so as to enjoy the ordinances with the word of life. His idea of the order of the churches is, that none but an ordained pastor can administer the ordinances. But why should a man be thought worthy to pray, to teach, to prophecy, or explain the scriptures, and yet not be qualified to baptize? Mr. Cotton was very much attached to the forms of Geneva and Cambridge; and we may make the same observation upon most of those worthy divines, who organized the religious societies of New-England.

When we reflect upon the sufferings of these early settlers, we cannot help admiring their fortitude and perseverance! They suffered more in their own country than others who came over to America. They had more difficulties to encounter than the people of Massachusetts, who landed and formed their settlement. They had less assistance from the property and wealth of others, had fewer friends abroad, and more enemies at home. They had enemies among themselves, who wounded their spirits; and they well knew that deep and malicious schemes were laid in England to disturb their peace, and set aside the principles of their establishment.

Lyford would have accomplished more than he did, had those men, whom he and others wished to injure, been the dupes of his subtlety, and mean, hypocritical grimace. But he had to deal with persons *not* superficial in their inquiries, nor feeble in spirit. They were ready to receive to their friendship, and to their bosom, all who resembled the *dove*, but were on their guard against the *vulture*, which darts upon its prey. When their fellow-men, (more cruel than birds or beasts of prey,) whose teeth were spears and arrows, and their tongues as sharp swords, calumniated their reputation, they trusted in One, who was the shield of ther excellency, the health of their countenance, and their God.

May we not repeat the sentiment, that they supported their character and good name; the peace and order of the churches; the laws and ordinances of their little community, when they had none to guide them in the

pastoral office. As the difficulties increased, they encouraged one another, and were sensible of their mutual interest; an example to christians of all denominations, who may see so many virtues to imitate, and such pure characters for faith and patience as are seldom to be met with in the pages of ecclesiastical history.

Mr. Hubbard makes these serious reflections, not unworthy of our attention, and which will please readers of a religious turn of mind: * "In all their changes, the over-ruling hand of providence was to be acknowledged, that at the last found out a resting place for them, by sending the angel of his presence to go before them, and safely conduct them through so many dangers, and so many deaths.

"Our blessed Lord, foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem, would have his hearers pray that there flight be not in the winter; but such was the dispensation of the Almighty to this poor, despised company, that, having hardly escaped the violence of many furious storms at sea, they were no sooner set on shore, than they were called immediately to encounter with hard and rough weather in the desert, and barren land, on the verge of winter. The sun had, in a great measure, withdrawn his delightful beams, giving them a short visit, after tedious, long, and doleful nights, many times brought in with boisterous storms of snow or rain. The earth also was dismantled of all its comely and pleasant ornaments, by the early approach of hard and sharp frosts, presenting them with no other aspects than the ruthful and weather-beaten face of winter. The barbarians, the apostle Paul met with after his shipwreck, shewed them no small kindness, kindling them a fire, and suffering them to gather bundles of sticks for that end; whereas these barbarous tribes were at the first unwilling to spare them any bundle or stick, but such as were turned into arrows, and improved to wound their new-come guests, which, after a passage over the vast and wide ocean, were entertained, at the first sight, only with the sight of withered grass on the surface of the cold earth, and the grim looks of the savage enemy. Surely such pilgrims and strangers had need of some other more inward sup-

* Hubbard's MSS.

port and comfort, than this world can give. They had need of a good conscience within, to administer matter for a continual feast, as they were of all other supplies to sustain their hearts. It would have tried the faith of Abraham, when sent from Ur of the Chaldeans, if he had been directed to the Arabian wilderness, and not into the land flowing with milk and honey. But they that had the same faith that Abraham had, were, when put upon trial, not unwilling to follow the conduct of divine providence, into a land not sown, not knowing indeed, it may be said, whither he went, yet hoping that God, who, by his special guidance, had brought them into a wilderness, would not be a wilderness to them therein, as since they have found."

In the year 1730, Mr. Prince preached the Election Sermon. From this sermon, and other writings of this celebrated divine, we may gather much information, and learn lessons of piety. His labours have saved the historians of this country many particular researches. He was better able to collect materials, and had more industry than most men.

In addition to the manuscripts of Dr. I. Mather, Cotton Mather, and Mr. Hubbard, he procured the diaries and observations of private gentlemen. He was able, with such assistance, to gather every minute circumstance, and a library of ancient books, extremely valuable, which he arranged in a proper manner, and put into the Old South Church. Some relicks of them are to be seen at this day, but great depredations have been made by the teeth of time; and also by the hand of violence, when the British troops had possession of the temple. Many manuscripts, likewise, have been kept by those who *meant* to borrow.

Every thing may perish for want of *care* — an observation the antiquary frequently makes, who bewails, that valuable records, which would have been useful to others, and increased the pleasures of his own mind, should be the food of insects, or perish in the same neglected corner with the moth and the worm.

END OF VOL. VII. FIRST SERIES.

# COLLECTIONS

OF THE

# MASSACHUSETTS

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# COLLECTIONS

OF THE

# MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

FOR THE YEAR 1801.

## REMARKS UPON REMARKS, ETC. IN THE FIRST PAGE OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME OF THE HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

TO blame a work confessedly unfinished, because it did not produce its authorities, is certainly wrong, unless the author's intentions are declared. So far was it from the intention of the writer to conceal them, that he had actually prepared a list of them, and even a review of them, that the world might judge of the value he put upon them. As to the danger of rendering the Institution accountable for any errors, there was no reader so ignorant as to imagine, that when he saw one man's name at the head of a paper, the accountableness belonged to another. The truth is, the work was handed in separate sheets, and the notes could not be attached to them. To be told that personalities are suppressed in a matter of mere history, is to publish that the whole is the work of an enemy; and after such a declaration, we cannot expect a very happy attempt at truth or candour. The authorities are sadly associated, as living near the times. Instead of the court records, and the records of Salem, and the works printed in the Controversy, we are referred to Morton, who lived in another colony, and Cotton Mather, whose grandfather had not then reached America, and whose father was not born. We then come down, in the same family, to Hutchinson, in our own times, and find at last, Hubbard, of

of the next generation to that we are to examine. These names are thrown together to answer the same purpose as personalities.

The subject of the Remark, is the character of Mr. Roger Williams, which we are to vindicate from the aspersions of his adversaries. The character was penned with great deliberation, and without any prepossession, and admits of an ample vindication. To understand the controversy, we must examine the times in which he lived. The settlements had just begun, the government had just assumed its form, the laws had not been enacted, and the seat of government had not been fixed. It was the unhappiness of Mr. Williams to decide, that the government did not depend on the patent, nor the church upon the government. These were the great errors into which he fell; but these were points which Penn better defined, or rather admitted, free from any local controversy, and by which he gained immortality. To convince us of the importance of these questions, we should remember, that at the same time Georges projected a plan of a general government, and that, on the next year after the controversy ended, Winthrop was ordered to return his patent; and we ought also to remember, that Winthrop and the settlers did not form their government from the patent.

In short, in consequence of these opinions, Mr. Williams was obliged to leave his charge and retire to Plymouth, but soon was induced to return to Salem, with new friends who had joined him. Morton, who lived in the Old Colony, says he staid three years; Mather, about two, and truth, not one year. Upon his return, he at first contented himself with preaching, and accepted no office; but at last he was prevailed upon to become the Teacher of the Church of Salem. This so incensed the men, who had occasioned the former separation, that desperate measures were adopted to separate him from his charge. Every expedient was used for this purpose; books and papers were put into the hands of the church; preachers were sent into his charge; injurious reports were spread; and, as Governor Winthrop honestly confesses, that the claims of land were refused to the people because they chose him; and even their deputies were refused by the government.

Williams

Williams says, that his life was in danger, by his excessive labours; preaching thrice a week, by labours night and day in the field, and by travels night and day to go and return from court.

But could a man who said, as Governor Winthrop assures us, that he wrote only for private friends on the patent, and would burn the writings with his own hands to quiet the public fears, be charged with obstinacy? Did not his friends send *Delegates* to the government? Could close communion be opposed to it? Did not the government admit that it might be lawfully granted? Did he not obey every summons? Did he not appear ready to defend his cause at every opportunity? If he wrote a letter to all the churches, did not the government give the example, and was it any thing unusual at this time?—There was a meeting of this kind by letter from the government in the same year.

As to the sneer at his piety, his piety was so well known that Mr. Cotton reproaches Williams "that he held himself acknowledged, *godly and beloved.*" Such a sneer must have been indulged from some public opinion. The people of Salem were pious, if any were so, and after all the reports, Cotton gives it as his opinion in their favour, that they never did separate from the churches; it must then have been only a threatening. This church had this high opinion. And that the magistrates had an opinion of their sincerity, the officer may attest, "who denies that he thought Mr. Williams sick, and that the warrant did not oblige him to go that night, but that he had learnt *the concourse to him increasing*, provoked the magistrates." So he was hurried into banishment.

As to his having never been forsaken. If the submission of the church to the act of dismission, be a proof, then his first separation is a proof. Yet they loved him well enough to recal him when they dared, and with all that caution which expresses interest and affection. It may be affirmed that better proofs cannot exist of the permanent effect of opinion and character, than are to be found in Salem for a century. They used the greatest caution about the authority of the synods, and dared even to question the right of prior choice in the church, of the minister; and as soon

soon as they heard of Penn's purchase, they purchased their lands of such Indians as they could find, though fifty years afterwards, still remembering the doctrine of the patent. We repeat then all our assertions. As to the refusal of the freeman's oath, it was a consequent affair.—He was one of the freemen before May, 1631; and his name is on the list of one hundred and eight, at that time. As to his separation, it is easily explained by Governor Winthrop; for he says, after the submission of Salem, *most of them* held Williams's opinion, though only a few applied for liberty of close communion. And what is this but a confession, that the submission was political, and therefore such as his true friends would never ask of him?

The candid man will find that Williams was the forerunner of Penn in this Western world. He had as hard a fate. But like Penn, after all he suffered, he is immortal. He was a father of a free colony, and even in this generation his name is blessed.

P. S. As the merit of Mr. Williams has been questioned, it may be agreeable to hear him speaking for himself. "I did not assent to the church, because undue influence was used to intimidate them, contrary to their first assent or inclination; and the voice of the church and admonition was not to desert my ministry. Some gentlemen, who consented to the sentence against me, solemnly testified with tears, that they did it by the advice and counsel of Mr. Cotton, who says, 'if he did counsel *one or two*, it would not argue the act of the magistrate!'" This good man, after his banishment, sent notice next year of the dangers from the natives, and saved the colony, which enjoyed, from this seasonable interposition, a quiet of forty years. Where shall we find more true virtue, more generous forgiveness, or a greater public benefactor? Had Governor Winthrop been at liberty to concur with Endicot, and not have been deterred by the competition of Boston and Salem, Williams would have lived and died in Salem.*

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* For the future, no remarks of a polemick nature will be published in this work. These volumes are not calculated even for *historical* controversy.

The book, or any part of it, is subjective to a *review;* and there are many publications more proper for the critick to display his acumen, and to distribute either praise or censure. As the Remarks upon the History of Salem were admitted, it is but just to give place to the author's reply.

## The historical Account of John Eliot, the first Minister of the Church in Roxbury. Collected from manuscripts, and books published the last century. By one of the Members of the Historical Society.

THE first settlers of New-England were a pious and hardy race. The ministers of religion were equally respectable for their learning, for their activity, and their zeal. Among them, John Eliot, commonly called the Apostle to the Indians, exhibited more lively traits of an extraordinary character than we find in most ages of the church, or in most christian countries. He, who could prefer the American wilderness to the pleasant fields of Europe, was ready to wander through this wilderness for the sake of doing good. To be active was the delight of his soul; and he went to the hovels which could not keep out the wind and rain, where he laboured incessantly among the aboriginals of America, though his popular talents gave him a distinction among the first divines of Massachusetts, at a time that the magistrates and all the people held the clergy in peculiar honour.

We know but little of his connections before he left his native country. He was born in England, A. D. 1604. There is nothing related of his parents, except that they gave him a liberal education, and were exemplary for their piety;—for this their memory is precious.

"I do see," says this excellent man, "that it was a great favour of God to me that my first years were seasoned with the fear of God, the word and prayer." Is there not sufficient encouragement to educate ingenuous youth, and impress the tender heart with lessons of wisdom, to think they will shed tears of grateful sensibility on our sepulchres?

When Mr. Eliot left the university of Cambridge, he himself became a teacher; and while he led children and youth into the paths of virtue, acquired also an acquaintance with the human heart. At this time he had an opportunity of hearing the venerable Hooker, and never lost the

the serious impressions which he received under his preaching; to him he was always attached, as well as to his mode of administering the order of the churches.

In the year 1631, Mr. Eliot arrived at Boston; and the succeeding year, November 5, 1632, was settled as Teacher of the Church in Roxbury. Governor Winthrop says, "Mr. John Eliot, a member of Boston congregation, whom the company intended presently to call to the office of teacher, was called to be a teacher to the company at Roxbury; and though Boston laboured all they could, both with the congregation at Roxbury and with Mr. Eliot himself, alledging their want of him, and the covenant between them, yet he could not be diverted from accepting the call at Roxbury; so he was dismissed."

When Mr. Eliot came to Boston, the preceding year, there was no minister at the First Church. Mr. Wilson had gone to England, and the religious service was carried on by Governor Winthrop, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Nowel, the ruling elder. Mr. Hubbard says these men accepted the charge, "knowing well that the princes of Judah, in king Hezekiah's reign, were appointed to teach the people out of the law of God."

Mr. Wilson left Boston the latter end of March, 1631. Mr. Eliot arrived November following, with the Governor's lady and sixty other persons, in the ship Lyon. He immediately joined the First Church, and preached with them till he settled at Roxbury. Had he accepted the call from the First Church, it might have been happy for the people; but most probably the great work which he afterwards undertook, would not have been devised, and for this he was very peculiarly qualified. But had the connection taken place, those animosities might have been prevented, which afterwards divided the church, banished the christian spirit from their counsels, and disturbed the whole community. Mr. Cotton, who was called to be their teacher, was a learned and excellent man, but opinionated; countenanced Wheelwright, Mrs. Hutchinson, and others, who were spreading antinomian errors through all the churches. The pastor, Mr. Wilson, Governor Winthrop, and Mr. Dudley, supported and defended the principles and practices of the churches before this fanatical woman,

woman, Mrs. Hutchinson, came into the country. With them were the ministers and people of the other congregations; but Vane was governor, a hot-brained enthusiast, and under his wing Mr. Cotton carried on the opposition against the pastor; the church was divided; mutual censures passed between the brethren, and every thing, especially their ecclesiastical affairs, wore a most gloomy aspect. Amidst this melancholy kind of embarrassment, the prudence and good sense of Governor Winthrop were conspicuous. Such abilities and so much candour as he possessed were absolutely necessary for the times.

The prior engagement of Mr. Eliot to settle with the people at Roxbury, who came over with him in the same ship, and to whom he was warmly attached, was sufficient to satisfy his friends of the church in Boston, and they gave him a regular dismission. He was accordingly united with the church at Roxbury as their teacher, and Mr. Welde was called the next year to be their pastor. They lived in much harmony; and under their ministry the town grew and flourished;—it still retains a rank of distinction among the best places in the environs of the metropolis.

In the year 1641, Mr. Welde was sent to England as agent for the Province, where he continued till the reign of Charles II. He then lost his living (at Gatesend in the bishoprick of Durham) with the other ejected ministers; but he did not return again to New England. Mr. Welde and Mr. Eliot happily coalesced in sentiment, were both firm in the congregational interest, and equally firm in opposing the errors of antinomianism. There is a book now extant—*Welde's Short Story of the rise, reign, and ruin of the antinomians, familists, and libertines, that infected the churches.* It is a scarce and curious book; but while it points out the extravagances of their opinions and conduct, it shows that in the bitterness of dispute, a pious author may not know what spirit he is of.

The trial of Mrs. Hutchinson is a precious document for those who would know the manners, customs, and principles of our fathers. And we may here learn something of the character of Mr. Eliot. He, with several other ministers, had visited her, conversed freely upon religious

religious subjects, and expostulated with her concerning things which were become matters of notoriety; especially her manner of censuring the ministers of the Plantation: all of whom she condemned, except Mr. Cotton, or Wheelwright. The spiritual tone of her mind was discovered in this conversation; nor could the apparatus of the judicial court, and the voice of the magistrates, when she was before their tribunal, and who set themselves in array against her principles, shake her mind. She was not to be softened by persuasion, nor moved by terror. The Roxbury divines were swift witnesses against her. Nor was their *zeal* tempered with much condescension or kindness. For prejudices are not *always* the effusions of a weak mind. Great and worthy men manifest sometimes that they are influenced by them. When Mr. Eliot and his colleague gave their testimony, she denied that they gave an accurate or true report. Being asked what she did say, she would give no direct answer, till they were put upon oath. Her object was to convict them of falsehood, although there were several other ministers beside the gentlemen we have mentioned, all of whom joined in the same report. She relied, however, on Mr. Cotton's evidence, and the assistance of the magistrates who were her friends, and earnest in the cause. Cunning as well as fanatical, she by her much quibbling puzzled the court; and she had well digested her means of defence. It was a fortunate circumstance that Mr. Eliot had written down the conversation which he and the other ministers had with this woman; and bringing forward these memoranda, he was able to show their consistency, if not their candour. "We desire to know of her," said he, "and her witnesses, what they deny; and then we will speak upon oath. I know nothing that we have spoken of, but what we may swear to."

There is some propriety in glancing at public affairs during this period, especially what took place at the trial of Mrs. Hutchinson; for we here learn Mr. Eliot's sentiments of impulses—*those impressions* which influence the lives of many professors of the gospel beyond any moral principles, and which are not confined to one sect or denomination of christians. Mrs. Hutchinson said, in the course of her trial,

trial, that she knew *God spake to her, just as Abraham knew that it was the command of Heaven to sacrifice Isaac.*

Thus we see the propriety of connecting faith and reason, or we cannot properly describe the *christian's hope:* for we often find people, who are not obliged to answer before a court, yet have much the same idea of the witness of the Spirit, which in this age caused so much confusion. It is very difficult to discriminate between their impressions and particular revelations. When a passage was quoted from one of Mr. Hooker's sermons, to justify her manner of speaking, Mr. Eliot insisted upon it publicly that it was contrary to Mr. Hooker's mind and judgment. He also expressed his opinion against *impulses* so strongly, as to offend others, and even draw a moderate reproof from his old friend, Governor Winthrop. "I say there is an expectation of things promised; but to have a particular revelation of things, as they shall fall out, there is no such thing in the scripture." The worthy magistrate observed upon this—"We must not limit the word of God."

The famous Hugh Peters gave his oath with Mr. Welde and Mr. Eliot, and related the conversation which was said to be exactly as others had testified upon their word—*that Mrs. Ann Hutchinson declared Mr. Cotton preached a covenant of grace, and the other ministers a covenant of works.* Mr. Eliot further added, "I do remember this also, that she said we were not able and faithful ministers of the new covenant, because we were like the apostles before the ascension." The result of this trial is well known. The errors of that unhappy woman ought not to have caused her banishment, nor even her hard speeches to have provoked the angry return she received. Whatever were her faults, her tragical end has excited the compassion of many even of her most pointed enemies, and made them forget all her excentricities.

Before Mr. Eliot left England he had formed a connection with a lady who soon after came over to America, and they were married in Boston. With this amiable, virtuous and sensible woman he passed the journey of life. She was the tender companion of his youth, and she lived to be the staff of his old age.

In the year 1639, there was an agreement among the magistrates

magistrates and ministers to set aside the psalms then printed at the end of their bibles, and sing one more congenial to their ideas of religion. Mr. Welde, Mr. Eliot, and Mr. Richard Mather, were selected to make a metrical translation. Every good Hebrewician is not a poet, and the taste for poetry is not the same with every generation. When we read the *New-England Psalms* we are not to suppose our fathers were without taste, or had no music in their souls, because We are not ravished, as in reading the more tuneful stanzas of Watts, or the charming poetry of Addison. At that time, the only versions of the Psalms were by Ainsworth, by the Scotch Presbyterians, or the more famous metrical translation by Sternhold and Hopkins. When we speak of the *New-England version*, let it be compared with these, and we shall not be so much surprised that they passed through twenty editions. The old church of Plymouth did not receive them till the latter part of the century. They had a veneration for Ainsworth, whose character in Holland they well remembered, and who was one of the greatest scholars the Puritans had to boast of. But all the other churches in New-England adopted the versions which these divines made. They were continued in many churches within the memory of the present generation; and since the American revolution, there have been some people who reluctantly exchanged them for versions more adapted to the improvements which have been made in musical compositions and poetic arrangements.

We are told by our early writers, that the Psalms in their present form were much altered for the better by Mr. Dunster, President of Harvard College, a very accomplished scholar, who completed the translation and the metre. It seems that the ministers who undertook the work did not give satisfaction to other divines, who might perhaps feel the slight, thinking that they ought to be among the poets. Mr. Shepherd, of Cambridge, thus addresses them:

* Ye Roxbury poets, keep clear of the crime
Of missing to give us very good rhyme;
And you of Dorchester, your verses lengthen,
But with the texts' own words, you will them strengthen.

It was resenting the thing in metre with a witness.

* Magnalia. Life of Dunster

This

This narration, concerning the New-England Psalms, is not introduced to gain any particular credit to the *Subject of the Memoirs*, nor is it supposed that the reputation of moralists and divines depends upon their taste for poetry; but only mentioned as an event in his life, and to show how ready he was to every good work assigned him.

We shall turn our attention from a part of his pious labours, where few of any age have given vivid colours to their literary excellence; and contemplate the more important scenes of his life, where he has a real distinction and character among the *Angels of the churches*, and a *name* to *live* not only on earth, but with those good and faithful servants that have entered into the joy of their Lord. He has been frequently styled an Evangelist—the *Apostle of America*, which touched his modesty when he heard it, and which he desired might not be fixed upon him; but it has been by European writers as well as the people of America.

He certainly was the most successful Missionary that ever preached the Gospel to the Indians. His prudence and zeal, his patience, resolution, activity and knowledge of mankind, were equally conspicuous. Many have done worthily in this benevolent work; but if we unite an *apt method* of applying the truths of Christianity to the minds of the heathen with the success of his labours, he far excelled them all. He likewise claims a very peculiar character, as being the first Protestant Minister who diffused the beams of evangelical truth among the wild nations of this benighted part of the globe. The tribes that roamed through the deserts became dear to him, like his own people, and he often forsook the charms of civilized and cultivated society, to reside with men, who were not only unacquainted with every thing called *urbanity*, but who wanted comfortable means of subsistence; with whom he would associate days and weeks to instruct them in divine things—and also acquaint them how they could improve their condition upon the earth. He partook with them their hard fare, with *locks* wet with the *dews of the night*, and exposed to attacks from the beasts of the forests; or to *their* spears and arrows who were fiercer than wolves, and more terrible in their howling. None of these things moved him, but he

he was more collected as he was in the face of danger; —like a brave soldier, he fought the good fight of faith, bearing every suffering with cheerfulness, and every pain with resignation.

When our Indian Apostle began his mission, there were about seventeen or twenty tribes within the limits of the English planters. But these tribes were not large, and hardly to be distinguished; for their manners, language, and religion were the same. The *Massachusetts* language, in which he translated the bible and several practical treatises, would serve the purpose of a missionary. The first thing he did was to learn this language of the people, and then he could preach without the medium of an interpreter, which is likely to cause mistakes,—and sometimes in material points. An old Indian, who could speak English, was taken into his family, and by conversing freely with him he learnt to talk it, and soon was able to reduce it to some method, and became at last so much master of it, as to publish a grammar, which is printed in some editions of the Indian bibles.

On the 28th of October, 1646, he began to preach to the neighbouring Indians. His first discourse was from Ezekiel xxxvii. 9. "Then said he unto me, prophecy unto the wind; prophecy, son of man, and say unto the wind, Thus saith the Lord God, Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they might live. So I prophecied as he had commanded me, and the truth came unto them, and they lived, and stood upon their feet, an exceeding great army." Their mode of worship is thus described:* After a short prayer, he rehearsed and explained the ten commandments. He then described the character of Christ; told them in what manner he appeared on earth, where he now is; and that he would again come to judgment, when the wicked should be punished, and the good rewarded. He spake of the creation and fall of man; then persuaded them to repent, to pray to God, and own Christ as their Saviour. After sermon, he desired the Indians to ask such questions as occurred to their minds. One asked immediately, *whether Jesus Christ could understand prayers in the Indian language?* And, *whether Englishmen were so ignorant of Jesus Christ as themselves?*

* Vid. Shepherd, Mather, &c.

*themselves?* Another question was, *How all the world became full of people, if they were all once drowned?* Here we see the language of nature. Other questions discovered more inquiry, and some kind of subtlety in the minds of men who were supposed to be entirely stupid. *Whether, if the child be good, and the parent naught, God will be offended with the child; because God saith, in the second commandment, that he visits the iniquities of the fathers upon the children?* Again, *How could there be the image of God, since it was forbidden in the same commandment?*

Upon the 11th of November, there was another meeting, and a larger number of Indians than first appeared. Mr. Eliot began with the children, and asked them three questions, and taught them how they should answer.—*Q.* Who made you and all the world? *A.* God. *Q.* 2. Who do you expect shall save you from sin and hell? *A.* Jesus Christ. *Q.* 3. How many commandments has God given you to keep? *A.* Ten. Upon this occasion also, he informed them how much Jesus Christ had done for sinners, and that they could not escape if they neglected this great salvation. His preaching appeared to touch the heart of these poor beings, the untutored offspring of Adam; and they made serious inquiries, which manifested a desire after knowledge. An old man, with tears in his eyes, asked, *Whether it was not too late for him, an old man so near death, to repent and seek after God?* Another asked, *How the English came to differ so much from the Indians in their knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, since they all at first had but one father?* Another inquired, *How it came to pass that sea-water was salt, and river fresh?* Another, *That if the water was bigger than the earth, how it comes to pass that it does not overflow the earth?* When the preacher had discussed these points as well as he was able, they expressed the satisfaction they received by saying, after their manner, *They did much thank God for his coming, and for what they had heard, which was wonderful news to them.*

It must show a knowledge of human nature in this worthy Missionary, to adapt his questions to the Indians, such as we propose to children in their tender age;—and that these children of riper years should propose questions, which

which philosophers of civilized nations have disputed about, is worthy of the attention of the curious. Their minds were put into an agreeable state of surprise, whilst their hard hearts were melted with the divine compassions.

There were publications at the time, with emphatical title-pages, which gave a particular account of Mr. Eliot's *discourse*, and his *talk* with the Indians. One book was called, *Day-breaking of the Gospel in New-England;* another, *Shepherd's clear Sunshine of the Gospel upon the Indians.* These were read by Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Neal, and perhaps by the authors of the Universal History—or they may quote from the Magnalia, where facts were ready to their hand, though the author is treated with so little respect.

Sometimes our laborious preacher met with opposition from the aboriginals. We read, that going a third time to Nonantum, he was worried with the Powaws, whom he chose to combat rather than to avoid.

The sachems likewise did every thing in their power to obstruct the work; for they thought that they should lose their power and influence, if men had any other law to govern them than the authority in their hands, and Mr. Eliot has been met in the wilderness by those men so inimical to religion and threatened with every evil if he made any more conversions. But he told them, "I am about the work of the great God, and he is with me, so that I fear not all the sachems of the country, I'll go on, and do you touch me if you dare." This was courage, such as brave men have. They consider the dangers that lie in their way, and that to overcome them, is not to be afraid. With a body capable of enduring fatigue, and a mind firm as the mountain oaks which surrounded the path he trod, he went from place to place, and gathered sheep for the fold of Christ, leading them from dry places into green pastures, and to the pure streams which flow from the Fountain of life. "Having first entered upon the teaching of these poor creatures," says a writer of his life, "it is incredible how much time, toil, and hardship, he underwent in the prosecution of his undertaking; how many weary days and nights rolled over him; how many tiresome journeys he endured; and how many terrible dangers he experienced. If you would know what he felt, and what carried

carried him through all, take it in his own words, in a letter to the Honorable Mr. Winslow. "I have not been dry, night or day, from the third day of the week unto the sixth; but so travelled, and at night pull off my boots, wring my stockings, and on with them again, and so continue. But God steps in and helps. I have considered the word of God, 1 Tim. ii. 3, Endure hardship as a good soldier of Jesus Christ." Mather.

It has been a question, whether the Indians must be civilized before they can be converted. Some have said, that if they believe christianity, the civilization will follow, and all that missionaries have to do is to tell them, Believe the gospel. Others say, that all attempts to convert them in their present state are absurd, and that the labour has proved fruitless. As soon as they leave their fires, and have consumed the provisions which pious persons have gathered for the good of the body, while the soul is to be edified with divine instruction, they lose all impressions of seriousness, though they may retain some favourable sentiments towards the white people. One season of hunting makes them complete Indians.

It was Mr. Eliot's opinion, that the Indians should be "taken off from their wild way of living," and brought into some kind of civil society; and there is an act of the General Court to this purpose, dated May 26, 1647:

"Upon the information that the Indians dwelling among us are brought to some kind of civility by the ministry of the word, and are desirous *to have a court of ordinary judicature* set up among them; it is therefore ordered by the authority of this Court, that one or more of the magistrates shall, once every quarter, keep a court where the Indians ordinarily assemble to hear the word of God, to hear and determine all causes, both civil and criminal, not being capital, concerning the Indians only; and that the Indian sachems shall have liberty to take orders in the nature of summons, or attachments, to bring any of their people to these courts; and to keep a court of themselves every month, if they see occasion, to determine small causes of a civil nature, and such smaller criminal causes as the magistrates shall refer to them; and the said sachems shall appoint officers to serve warrants, and to execute the orders

orders and judgments of either of the said courts; which officers shall be allowed from time to time by the said magistrates in the quarter courts, or by the governor. And that all fines, imposed upon any of the Indians, in said courts, shall go and be bestowed towards building of some meeting-houses for the education of their poorer children in learning, or other public use, by the advice of said magistrates, or of Mr. Eliot, or some other elder, who shall ordinarily instruct them in true religion. And it is the desire of this Court, that these magistrates, or Mr. Eliot, or such other elders, as shall attend the keeping of said courts, will carefully endeavour to make the Indians understand our most useful laws, and the principles of reason, justice and equity, whereon they are grounded; and it is desired that some care may be taken of the Indians on the Lord's-day."

There was a town laid out, impaled, or separated by stone walls. They were also provided with domestic utensils and instruments of agriculture, a decent appearance was introduced in their houses, and some considerable order in their manner of living. Several were able to get a comfortable subsistence by making baskets, brooms, staves, &c. while others sold the wild berries and different kinds of roots, and enjoyed some reward for a very little labour. There always was a difference in the tempers of Indians who went upon *hunting* parties, and those who reside near *ponds* and *rivers*, and sell their fish, and cultivate the ground; if we may so call the raising corn or a few necessaries. The first never could be civilized. The latter, with all the assistance and encouragement from the whites, never could or never would labour like other men.

Mr. Neal tells us, that while these things were done at Noonatomen, the Indians about Concord expressed their desires of being civilized and receiving the christian faith; —that Mr. Eliot went there and preached to them;—that he addressed the Government for a spot of ground;—that the sachems met at Concord, and agreed upon the following laws for their civil and religious government:

That there shall be no more *powawing* upon the penalty of twenty shillings.

That

That whosoever shall be drunk, shall forfeit twenty shillings.

That if any be convicted of stealing, he shall restore four fold.

That whosoever shall prophane the sabbath, he shall pay twenty shillings.

That whosoever shall commit fornication, shall pay twenty shillings, if a man, and ten shillings, if a woman.

Wilful murder, adultery, and beastiality, to be punished with death.

None to beat their wives upon the penalty of twenty shillings.

They resolved to lay aside their howling, greasing their bodies, adorning their hair ; and follow the English fashions.

They agreed to pray in their wigwams, and to say grace before and after meat.——These and other orders they agreed upon, and they were published.

Other churches were also planted by this pious missionary in the wilderness of Massachusetts. He left the fruit of his labours in many places. Whilst some of the sachems were disposed to receive instruction, others discovered a resentment at his conduct. They found that they lost their influence and their tribute, and therefore opposed the conversion of their subjects. Mr. E. was the object of their hatred, and they would have killed him, but they had a terror of the English people, and they had a kind of reverence for the character of the man, which hindered them from carrying their designs into execution ; or which, mingling with some of their superstitious notions, kept in awe the enemies of the Gospel, whether they were *Powaws* or *Princes*.

This worthy minister of our divine religion went upon his evangelical mission every fortnight, though he frequently exposed himself to perils from the heathen, and while he knew that some of the chiefs were plotting his destruction.

It cannot appear strange to those who have become acquainted with human nature from observation, that the aborigines of this country should oppose the progress of Christianity. Has it not been a complaint of pious men in other periods of the world ;—and do we not learn the same

same thing from the late efforts which have been made in Europe to convert the inhabitants of Islands in the South Sea? We may borrow the expression of one whose lips were wet with celestial dews, who said, "Have any nation changed their gods who were no gods?"

The sentiment contained in the words show the amazing power of habit. It is difficult to civilize barbarians, but wonderful that they should become Christians.

All men have a veneration for the religion of their ancestors, and the prejudices of education are insuperable. Apply this to the labours of Mr. Eliot. A judicious historian thus speaks of the opposition he met with: *

The Indian princes and priests looked upon him as a man who designed to overturn their civil and religious policy. The prince was jealous of his prerogative, and the priest of his gain; and so both joined together to oppose the progress of the new doctrines. The *Monhegin* Indians were so jealous of the General Court's influence, obliging them to pray to God, that Uncas, their chief sachem, went to Hartford unto the General Court to protest against it.

Cutshemoquin, another chief, came to the Indian lecture and openly protested against their building a town; telling the English that all the sachems in the country were against it. He was so honest as to tell Mr. Eliot the reason of it; for, said he, the Indians that pray to God do not pay me tribute as they formerly did; which was in part true: for before, the sachem was absolute master of the subject; their lives and fortunes being at his disposal. They now gave him no more than they thought reasonable; but to wipe off the reproach that Cutshemoquin had laid upon them, those few praying Indians told Mr. Eliot what they had done for their sachem the two last years, leaving him to judge whether their prince had any reason to complain. At one time, they gave him twenty-six bushels of corn, at another time, six. On two hunting days they killed him fifteen deer. They also broke up two acres of ground; they made him a great house, or wigwam; made twenty rods of fence; paid a debt for him, three pounds, ten shillings. One of them gave him a skin of beaver, two pounds, besides many days planting corn altogether: yea, they said they would do more, if he

* Neal.

he would govern them justly by the word of God. But the sachem swelled with indignation at this unmannerly discourse of one of his vassals, turned his back upon the company, and went away in a rage; though, upon better consideration, he himself turned christian not long after.

In 1651, an Indian town was built on a pleasant spot on Charles-River, and called Natick. Here was a house raised, which served for a school and for public worship; and a place was also provided, for the prophet's chamber. In the corner of the room, Mr. Eliot had his bed, and frequently made it his lodging. As soon as they were well fixed in their habitation, he procured them certain privileges, and gave them a form of government, such as we find in Exodus xviii. 21. On the 6th of August, *one hundred met, and chose one ruler of one hundred, two of fifty, and ten of ten, and then renewed their covenant, saying*, "We are lost in Adam, we and our fathers have been a long time lost in our sins, but now the mercy of God begins to find us out again: therefore the grace of God helping us, we do give ourselves and our children to God; he shall rule us in all our affairs, not only in religion and the affairs of the church, but also in all our works and affairs in this world: God shall rule over us, the Lord is our Judge, our Lawgiver, the Lord is our King, he will save us. The wisdom which God hath taught us in his book, that shall guide us and direct us in the way. O Jehovah! teach us wisdom, to find out thy wisdom in the scriptures; let the grace of Christ help us, because Christ is the wisdom of God; send thy Spirit into our hearts and let it teach us; Lord take us to be thy people, and let us take thee to be our God."

These and many other things, Mr. Eliot wrote down, which they spake during his friendly and pastoral visits to them; which he afterwards collected and published in a volume, called *the Tears of the Indians*—or, *Repentance*, &c.

In this book there is the confession of Powampum, made in public on a fast-day.

The exhortation of Waban, an Indian, and of Nishokou.——These are preserved in Mr. Eliot's *Letters to the Corporation in London*, as well as in *the Tears of Repentance*. Several of them are in Neal's History of New-England.

Concerning

Concerning these specimens of sacred friendship and zeal, this wise author says: "That they show the high esteem in which he was held by the new converts. That they consulted him as their oracle in all difficult cases; that they loved him as their lives, and would run any hazards to serve him. He really deserved well of them, for no man ever took such pains in the missionary work as himself; his name therefore will be mentioned with honour as long as there is a *Christian* Indian in the world."

He himself tells us, "that he had not, knowingly or wilfully, made their confessions better than they made themselves; but he is verily persuaded, upon good grounds, that he has rather rendered them weaker than he delivered them, partly by missing some words of weight in some sentences, partly by abbreviating some passages, and partly by reason of the different idioms of their language and ours."

It was not the design of the writer of these Memoirs, to exhibit the state of the Indians, or describe their conversions only as they were connected with the life of a man, who was so conversant with them. In a letter, which Dr. Increase Mather wrote to Professor Leusden, any reader will see the progress made in this business *during the 17th century*. But it becomes us to be more particular in describing the church at Natick, the first *Indian church*, formed in 1660. They were incorporated according to the manner of the Congregational churches in New-England. Mr. Eliot was commissioned by the church at Roxbury to administer unto them *baptism*, and the Lord's-supper.

The other churches planted in Massachusetts, of the aboriginal tribes, were branches of this first Indian church. They had frequently the benefit of his labours; but his pastoral care was more immediately over the flock in the town of Natick. These sheep no longer wandered through the rough paths of the desert; but enjoyed in a measure the blessings of civilized and cultivated society; and were refreshed with the streams which issued from the Fountain of life.

Enjoying the *word*, and walking in the ordinances of the gospel, they continued much longer in a body, and preserved

preserved the form of a church, than other plantations in Massachusetts, where Indians and English have resided together.

When age and infirmities made his burden heavy, this active and zealous divine did not wholly relinquish the work, but had the assistance of catechumens, and also of ministers who were connected with the neighbouring churches; whose opportunities, and sense of duty prompted them to engage in this extensive field of usefulness. Some appeared to take delight in the business, and imitated the Man who went about doing good; but the labourers were few in comparison with the harvest.

Beside preaching to the natives, Mr. Eliot instructed one of the untutored race to be a schoolmaster among them. His name was Monequessin. He thus tried every way to make them useful to society, and indulged a hope that some would be ambitious of a liberal education, and that the next generation would see good preachers to the natives, and Indian pastors of churches. But sorrow and disappointment were expressed by the worthy missionary before his death; for he saw how much the Indians abused their privileges, and that too many preferred the darkness and vices of their former state to the blessings of the gospel. He had been made the humble instrument of calling them to knowledge and virtue; and he beheld the *dew-drops* of the morning after a long *night* of ignorance. But the Sun of Righteousness, after rising upon their hills, seemed to enter a cloud. "There is a cloud," said he, "upon the gospel among the poor Indians. The Lord revive and prosper the work, and grant it may live when I am dead." *

When

* The church in Natick continued an Indian church many years after the decease of this evangelist. Not only the ministers of the neighbouring church, but some from a distance, whose zeal and benevolence led them to visit a spot which resembled the garden of the Lord rather than the rest of the wilderness, afforded them much assistance. Mr. Daniel Gookin preached to them a number of years about the end of the 17th century. They had also an Indian pastor named Daniel. Mr. Gookin was the son of the famous Major-General Gookin, the companion of Mr. Eliot, and, like him, the Indians' friend when the resentment of the country was high against the aboriginal nations, and there were unthinking

Mr. Welde having left America, Mr. Eliot was sole teacher of the church at Roxbury, for some years. He had several colleagues afterwards, and having arrived at fourscore years, he desired to give up his salary, and to be freed from the labours of the office. The people requested him to preach and pray when he was able, and unanimously chose Mr. Nehemiah Walter for their assistant minister, upon whom descended the spirit of the first planters. Here were united the wisdom and prudence of grey hairs with the strength and popular talents of a young preacher, who paid every tribute of respect to his venerable colleague, and from whom he experienced every tender affection. "The good old man, like Aaron, disrobed himself with an unspeakable satisfaction, when he beheld his garments put upon a son that was so dear to him." * He often pleaded that it would be wrong to the souls of his people

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thinking men who wished to destroy the *praying* tribes with those who were actually engaged in war. General Gookin left several sons; the eldest was minister of Cambridge; the second, Daniel, was settled at Sherburne, and preached to the Indians at Natick. Between the years 1700 and 1745, several missionaries were appointed, who resided in the town with the *praying* Indians. During that year many went into the wars and were scattered; their number has lessened ever since, and now hardly a pure Indian can be found in this plantation.

The missionary who was sent to instruct the Indians at Natick, some years before the American revolution, is now alive. From this gentleman, who is a man of sense, we should expect considerable information concerning a religious society so venerable for its age, if it had lost all other claim for the respect and attention of the present generation. But from his letter to the Historical Society, [vid. 5th volume of the Collections,] very little knowledge could be obtained. He says, that he has no printed materials, nor manuscripts but the church records, &c. Had these been well kept, they would give the desired intelligence. It is very strange that from these, and from the *records of the proprietors of the town*, we have no conclusive documents of the numbers of Indians, or their state at any particular period. Though such diligence was given by the *Subject of these Memoirs* to plant this church, and the magistrates of the country engaged earnestly in the business, yet no complete account of the *baptisms*, of the *converts*, of their past condition, can be found. "The number of church members is now reduced to two or three." Suffice it to say, that in such a world as this, we may expect great changes; but notwithstanding the revolutions in families, in towns, and the American nation, we view with astonishment this remarkable inattention, and inexcusable neglect.

* Mather.

people "for him to do any thing among them when they were so well supplied otherwise."

The expressions flowed from his humility and charity, for he always spake acceptable words when he ascended the pulpit. His age was, however, a sufficient excuse for retiring from ministerial duties. Whoever preaches constantly and abundantly, such a number of years, when the very strength is labour and sorrow, ought to rest from his labours, and be held in honour by those who are on the stage of action.

The last sermon he preached was on public fast; his subject, the 83d Psalm. He then told his hearers, that his strength failed, that his sermons were broken performances, and added, *my dear brother will mend all.*

From his contemporaries, and from his writings, we learn, that he always preached in a plain manner, but had a happy facility of communicating his ideas upon subjects adapted for his people. He was warm and diffusive, tender and pathetic, rather copious than correct in his language; but though his style was not varied with much art, his public performances were acceptable in all the churches. His method was natural, his expression easy, his voice audible, and his manner very interesting. Out of the abundance of his heart his mouth spake, in preaching and praying; and no pastor of New-England saw more of the fruit of his labours. His discourses are without those quibbles, gingling words, and quaint turns, which mark the false taste of the age; but were as common in English as in American sermons. This strain of preaching was introduced here by scholars educated in European seminaries, and too successfully imitated by the sons of our college. The author of the Magnalia abounds even with puerile conceits, and on this account has not received that tribute of respect from literary men of this generation, which he deserves, for preserving many facts, or such minute circumstances of events, as are entertaining to read, without his peculiarities of style; and are of infinite service to all who would know the affairs of their own country. To this author, who was intimately acquainted with Mr. Eliot, we are indebted for an extract of a sermon upon the heavenly conversation, which exhibits

bits the preacher in his common attitude; for the words were taken as they dropped from his mouth, without his supposing that they would ever appear in print. We certainly can form a more correct opinion of the preacher's talents than from the description in his biography, where he tells us, that "lambs might wade into his discourses, on those texts and themes wherein elephants might swim."

In the sermon on Philippians iii. 20, Mr. Eliot thus explains his text: "Behold the ancient and excellent character of the true christian; it is that which Peter calls *holiness in all manner of conversation.* For, in the first place, a seventh part of time is always spent in heaven, when people are zealous in the service of God. Besides, God has written at the head of the commandments, *Remember*, which looks forward and backward; and thus a good part of the week will be employed in sabbatising.—Secondly, We have many days both for our fasting and thanksgiving, in our pilgrimage, and here are so many sabbaths more.—Thirdly, We have our lectures once a week, and pious people will not miss them if they can help it.—Fourthly, We have our pious meetings, in which we pray, and sing, and repeat sermons, and confer together about the things of God, and being come thus far we are in heaven almost every day.—Fifthly, We perform family duties every day. We have our morning and evening sacrifices, wherein, having read the scriptures in our families, we call upon the name of God, and now and then catechise them that are under our care.—Sixthly, We shall also have our daily devotions in the closet, with some serious meditations. A *David* will be at this work no less than three times a day.—Seventhly, We have many ejaculations, &c. like Nehemiah, in whatever place we come into.—Eighthly, We have occasional thoughts, &c.—Ninthly, In our *civil* callings we keep up heavenly frames; we buy, and sell, and toil, yea, we eat and drink, with some eye both to the command and honour of God in all. Behold, I have not left now an inch of time to be carnal, it is all engrossed for heaven; and yet, once more, lest this should not be enough, we have our *spiritual warfare.* We are always encountering the enemy of our souls, which continually raises our hearts unto our *Helper* and *Leader*

*Leader* in the heavens. Let no man say, It is impossible *to live at this rate.* For we have known some to live so, and others, that have written of such a life, have but spun out a web from their own experiences. New-England has examples of this life; though, alas! it is to be lamented that the distractions of the world, in many professors, do becloud the beauty of a *heavenly conversation.* In fine, our employment lies in heaven. In the morning, if we ask, Where are we to be to-day? the answer is, *In heaven.* In the evening, if we ask, Where have we been to-day? our souls must answer, *In heaven.* If thou art a believer, thou art no stranger to heaven while thou livest: and when thou diest, heaven will be no strange place to thee; no—thou hast been there a thousand times before."

As to his moral and christian character, it was as exemplary as his ministerial qualifications were excellent. His mind was governed by a sense of duty, and not a mere ease and complacency of humour, which make a man good-natured when he is pleased, and patient when he has nothing to vex him. He brought his religion into all his actions. A stranger to artifice and deceit, he disliked the appearance of them in others. He felt equal obligations to perform the duties of piety, virtue, and benevolence. Such was the man. He cloathed himself with humility as with a *robe.* Literally speaking, he wore a leathern girdle about his loins. Perhaps this might show too strong prejudices against dress; but all his actions discovered a temper free from vanity, and a desire to *be* humble, rather than to gain the praise of men. He was very temperate: one dish was his homely repast. When he dined abroad, he would not indulge himself in the luxuries of the table. He drank water, and said of wine, "it is a noble, generous liquor, and we should be humbly thankful for it, but, as I remember, water was made before it." His maintenance was a free contribution, or raised upon pews, and the people of Roxbury cheerfully supported two ministers. It was his request, to give up his salary when he could no longer preach. "I do here," said he, "give up my salary to the Lord Jesus Christ; and now, brethren, you may fix that upon any man that God shall make a pastor." But the society, in

in their answer, told him, that they accounted his presence worth any sum granted for his support, even if he were superannuated so as to do no further service for them. The youth of the congregation called him their father and their *friend*, and their affection chased away the gloom so apt to hover around the evening of life. Such attentions from the rising generation, are like medicine to the spirit of a man sinking within him. The reflection of a life well spent, and the kindness of his friends, made his old age pleasant.

In domestic life, Mr. Eliot was peculiarly happy. His lady was an excellent economist, and by her prudent management enabled him to be generous to his friends, and hospitable to strangers. It ought to be mentioned to the credit of this excellent woman, that with a moderate stipend and her prudence, he educated four sons at Cambridge, who were among the best preachers of that generation. A small salary, where a proper arrangement is made of the expenses, and the wife *looks well to the ways of her household*, may answer generous as well as necessary purposes: But when frugality is despised, and prudence called a niggardly virtue; when the fragments which might be gathered are lost, it is not the income of the most lucrative stations, much less the salaries of pastors of churches, that will maintain people in ease and independence.

By the influence of Mr. Boyle, his honorable friend, Mr. Eliot was allowed fifty pounds, annually, from the Society *de propaganda fide*. This enabled him to gratify his benevolent propensities; the poor Indians, to whom the Gospel was preached, shared the most of the donation. His charity is thus celebrated by one of his biographers:—"It was a brilliant star in the constellation of his virtues, and the rays of it were various and extensive. He gave largely from his own income to the poor, and promoted all kinds of useful distributions, especially if he could serve the cause of religion. When his age unfitted him for public employment, he reflected that he did good as he had opportunity. "Alas!" said he, "I have lost every thing—My understanding leaves me, my memory fails me, but I thank God my charity holds out still."

It becomes necessary to mark the minute circumstances of

of a person's character, if we would obtain just views of his temper and actions. Hence biography differs from history, whose province is to describe great events which elevate the mind of the reader; and which require a dignity of manner with the glow of sentiment. But in the narrative of private life, we survey the man in all his various attitudes, frequently without a design to *point* a moral: We follow him through the vales and descents of his situation, and feel interested in every thing which concerns him, till, by dwelling upon *kindred* images, he grows into a familiar acquaintance.

Most men have their oddities and strange humours. Among the prejudices of Mr. Eliot was one very strong against *wearing wigs*. He preached against it; he prayed against it; he thought all the calamities of the country, even Indian wars, might be traced to this absurd fashion. Many things have been told by the people of Roxbury, which were handed down to them by their ancestors, that seem only like amusing stories, of the good man's resentment. And in the written account by Cotton Mather, it is said that he thought it a "luxurious, feminine protexity for men to wear their hair long." Especially, a shame for ministers of the gospel to "ruffle their heads in excesses of this kind." The Doctor touches lightly upon this subject, *for he himself wore a wig;* and he makes a judicious observation—"Doubtless," said he, "it may be lawful in us to accommodate our hair to the modest customs which vary in the church of God; and it may be lawful for them who have not hair of their own, enough for their health, to supply themselves according to the sober modes of the places where they live." Mr. Eliot lived to see the prevalence of the fashion, to see many an orthodox minister wear a great white wig, and it is reported that he gave over the utterance of his grieved spirit, saying only as a *last word* of complaint that the "lust was insuperable."

His prejudices were as strong against the use of tobacco. He thought it was a sacrifice of precious time—a silly amusement, disgusting in itself; that Christians ought not to become slaves to such a pernicious weed, and besotted by

by its influence. But he might as well have preached to the moon, as to resist the tide of fashion; or fought with the stars in their courses, as to struggle with the pride of opinion, or the appetites of sense; and try to persuade men not to use a weed which carries a charm with it for its intoxicating quality;—which equally tends to exhilarate their spirits and amuse their leisure hours.

The use of ardent spirits was then hardly known. Hugh Peters, a friend of his, and contemporary writer, says: He never saw a man, woman, or child, drunk in the streets of Boston—nor recollects hearing an *oath*. Stern virtue had a dominion or authority which she has lost since, and it may be long before we recur to the practices or principles of the New-England planters.

Our Roxbury divine has been accused by some of versatility in his opinions and conduct: By others, of being too set and rigid in his notions. If there is an inconsistency in this, it is what we see every day. Persons think themselves right and are warm in defending a sentiment—The same sensibility of mind may be manifested after they have altered their way of thinking. Hutchinson quotes a letter of Hooker, where he says: "A copy of Mr. Vane's expressions at Roxbury, I desire to see and receive by the next messenger. I have heard that my brother Eliot is come about to this opinion; I have writ to him—I would fain come to a bandy with him, where I might be a little rude in the business, for I do as verily believe it to be false, as I do believe any article of my faith to be true." From his behaviour at the trial of Mrs. Hutchinson, we rather think Mr. Hooker was misinformed. He never was a partizan of Vane, but always adhered to Governor *Winthrop*.

His setness of opinion was also manifested in controverting with the great Dr. Owen the proper observation of the Sabbath, but he thought the Doctor's name and character might carry more weight than his arguments had intrinsic excellency.

His political opinions more than once brought him into trouble. He spake with freedom against the Indian treaty, and was obliged to recant before the magistrates. Roger Williams and he were of the same opinion, but the one was

was convinced, and confessed *his error; the other was not so easily moved or convinced.**

This was in the year 1636. Afterwards he discovered more of a democratic spirit, by writing against monarchy, when it was not safe for puritan divines to speak of the ruling power, and the republicans in the mother country had their tongues locked in silence. Hutchinson tells us, in the first book of his history, that the Governor and Council, in the year 1660, took notice of a book published by Mr. Eliot not long before, intitled, the *Christian Commonwealth*, full of seditious principles and notions, in relation to all established governments in the christian world, especially against the government established in their native country. Upon consultation with the elders, their censure was deferred until the next General Court, that Mr. Eliot might have an opportunity, in the mean time, of making a public recantation. At the next session, Mr. Eliot gave in his acknowledgment to the Court:

"Understanding, by an act of the honoured Council, that there is offence taken at a book published in England by others, the copy whereof was sent over by myself about ten years since, and that the further consideration thereof is commended to this Honourable General Court, now sitting in Boston. Upon perusal thereof, I do judge myself to have offended; and, in a way of satisfaction, not only to the authority of this jurisdiction, but also to any others that shall take notice thereof, I do hereby acknowledge to this General Court, that such expressions as do

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* Bentley's Hist. of Salem.

Governor Winthrop says: Mr. Eliot, the teacher of the church at Roxbury, had taken occasion in a sermon to speak against the peace made with the Pequods, and to lay some blame upon our measures for proceeding therein without consent of the people, &c. We took order that he should be proceeded with by Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Welde, to be brought to see his error, and to heal it by some explanation of his meaning; for the people begun to take occasion to murmur against us for it.

The aforesaid three ministers, upon conference with the said Mr. Eliot, brought him to acknowledge his error, in that he had mistaken the ground of his doctrine, and that he did acknowledge that for a peace only (whereby the people were not to be engaged in a war) the magistrates might conclude, plebe inconsulto; and so promised that he would express himself the next Lord's-day. *Winthrop's Journal, page* 86.

do manifestly scandalize the government of England by king, lords, and commons, as antichristian, and justify the late innovator, I do sincerely bear testimony against, and acknowledge it to be true, not only a lawful, but eminent, form of government.

"2. All form of civil government deduced from scripture, I acknowledge to be of God, and to be subjected to, for conscience sake; and whatsoever is in the whole epistle or book inconsistent herewith, I do at once most cordially disown. JOHN ELIOT."

The books were ordered by the Court to be called in, and this acknowledgment to be posted up in the principal towns of the Colony.

During the war with the sachem Philip, 1675, our Roxbury divine appears in a character very interesting to the community. The traces of war are blood and slaughter. The people of Massachusetts, in their phrenzy, would have destroyed the *praying* Indians with the savages whose feet were swift to spread destruction in every path. Mr. Eliot was their advocate and friend. They were put under a kind of duress, which was injurious to them if they were innocent, but which was more aggravating because they took a decided part against their own nation; *this* they bore with patience, or a very faint expression of complacency. Mr. Eliot not only was persuaded that they were friendly, but that they were of great service to the English, with whom they would live or die, rather than mingle with *heathens*. Being assisted by General Gookin, he defended their cause, and protected them against those men of violence who were less in the *image of God* than those poor *outcasts* of human society;—*men*, who lost their reputation, as Christians, because they gave way to the fury of their passions. Every thing was said against the minister and magistrate which could be uttered by the foul mouth of the vulgar, or from the lips of some whose education was liberal; and whose religion ought to have made more candid, but who stimulated the bitter sarcasms of the multitude. Nothing could shake the resolution of such men, conscious of rectitude, and we never behold the *Subject of these Memoirs* to more advantage than he appears when he pleads

pleads the cause of these poor, friendless beings.* It is no wonder, therefore, that having shown his abilities and firmness, he acquired such an influence over the various tribes as no other missionary to the Indians could ever obtain. We can overlook a multitude of errors, where such divine charity throws the purest lustre upon the character. We can excuse such prejudices, which by themselves seem like *effusions of human weakness*, when, in the same life, we see the *charms of virtue;* nor let us blame even an obstinacy of humour, if mingled with a firmness that gives dignity to human nature. Having mentioned certain oddities in his disposition, or a few singularities, or puerile antipathies against new customs, which in the present day would cause a smile of ridicule, let these be balanced by the honesty and frankness of his manners. He was as tenacious of truth and justice as of his own opinion. He must also have possessed some of those rare qualities which conciliate popularity, an uncommon affability to gain an influence in society which could never be acquired by ministerial gifts and graces, although these might make him an ornament to the pulpit.

There is a story which perhaps should not be omitted. It is related by *one* fond of the marvellous — (Cotton Mather.) Mr. Eliot was in a boat, that was overset by a vessel running against it. A prophane wretch, one who clamoured for the extirpation of the *praying Indians*, said, he wished the man of God had been drowned. In a few days this man was drowned in the very place where Mr. Eliot had received his deliverance.

After living eighty-six years in this world of trial, the *spirit* of this excellent divine took his flight to a better world. For many years he *had his conversation in heaven;* his faith seemed to be swallowed up in vision, and his hopes in fruition. He lost his most amiable companion two years before. He was then sick and expected and longed for his own departure. Their children they had followed to the *grave*, and had comforted each other as they drank the bitter ingredients from the cup of adversity. He died in the year 1690.

Few of his family were alive to lament his death; but he

* Vid. 7th vol. Letter from the poor church of Natick.

he was lamented by the whole family of virtue, and by all the sincere friends of religion. The poor *church at Natick* not only joined with those who dropped a tear upon his dust, but streams of sorrow flowed from the heart. Though he lived many years, they were filled with usefulness; succeeding generations mentioned his name with uncommon respect; his labours were applauded in Europe and America; and all who now contemplate his active services, his benevolent zeal, his prudence, his upright conduct, his charity, are ready to declare his memory precious. Such a man will be handed down to future times, an object of admiration and love; and appear conspicuous in the historic page when distant ages celebrate the *Worthies of New-England.*

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*Publications by John Eliot, teacher of the First Church in Roxbury.*

Whether he preached any Sermons upon particular occasions, such as Election and Artillery Election, we cannot ascertain. It is probable that he did. The ministers were few. Some preached several times, who were less celebrated. The latter part of *the sixteenth century* he was aged and continually employed in his *missionary business.*

He published a number of small Tracts.

The *True Commonwealth.*

*Tears of Repentance*, &c. and

A work, in small quarto, called the *Harmony of the Gospels*, printed in 1678. This is recommended by four of the principal characters of the New-England plantation.

"We have perused it," say they, "and observed the prudence and diligence of the gracious and worthy author in compiling it. In the reading of it, we have been edified and affected. We are persuaded that through the blessing of Him that hath put it into the head of the reverend author to lay out himself this way, it will serve to promote the honour of our Lord Jesus Christ and the good of souls, and therefore do affix our *imprimaturs.*

Thomas Thacher. Urian Oakes.
James Allen. Increase Mather."

For the benefit of the Indians, he published several Catechisms;

An *Indian Grammar;*

An *Indian Psalter;* and

The *whole Bible*, in the same language. A second edition of this, was afterwards published by Mr. Cotton, of Plymouth, with the *Grammar.*

In the files of the Historical Society there is a leaf of the Indian Bible, which belonged to his colleague, the Rev. *Samuel Danforth*, in which there are several corrections from the hand of this worthy gentleman. He was settled at Roxbury, about the year 1662, and died 1674, aged 48. He was the brother of the Deputy-Governor of the same name.

*The Lord's Prayer.* Mat. 6. ix. &c.

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|---|---|
| Our Father which art in heaven | Nooshun keesukqut |
| Hallowed be thy name | Quttianata munach koowesuonh* |
| Thy kingdom come | Perganmoonch kukketassootamoonch |
| Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven | Kuttenantamoonck nennatch okkeils neene kesukqut |
| Luke II. ii. Thy will, &c. as in heaven so on earth | Kuttanantamóonk ne nai, neyane keesukquot kah okkeit |
| Give us this day our daily bread | Nummeetswongesh esekeesukokish assimainean yeyen kesusok |
| Luke II. ii. Give us day by day our daily bread | Assimainean ko ko ke sukodac nutase sukoke petuk qunneg |
| And forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors | Kah ahquoantameünnean nummatchongagh neene matchenchukqueogig nutch quontee móonnunog |
| Luke II. ii. Forgive as we forgive every one that is indebted to us | Newutche nenewun menk nutch quoanta móonnugog nighnoh pasuh moonmontukquohwhoan |



* *Qnllianatamuuch.*

And

| | |
|---|---|
| And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil | Akque sagkompaginaiican en qutch huasuganit, webe pohquohwussinnean wutchmelchitut |
| For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, &c. | Newutche kutahtaun ketessootamoonk kah menuhkesùonk, kah sohsumoòuk michemè. Amen. |

*Errata.* Acts xxiv. 16. 1 Cor. xv. 31. As here translated, countenances swearing by a creature, or gift of God.

*Mem.* Part of Hosea wanting—or transposed.

*Corrigenda.* Gen. xliii. 28. *He is in good health,* omitted wholly.

*Longest word.* Mark i. 40. Wuttappesittukqussunnoohwehtunkquoh.

*Quere.* Whether thorns and briars grew on Adam's body.

Whether the corrections were made in the succeeding edition, the transcriber of these notes is unable to say.

Not being versed in the original language of old Massachusetts, he must make an apology to those *genuine antiquarians* of their country, who *are* acquainted with it, for any mistakes that may be in *Indian words;* such especially as using the *h* for *k.*

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## ADDENDA.

From hearing a report that prevailed in Roxbury, where the *Writer of the Memoirs* once resided, that the tomb in which *Mr. Eliot* was laid, and also *Anne his wife,* by particular permission, was claimed by the family on this account, (though it was purchased only for a ministerial tomb,) he was induced to search for information on this head, and received the following answer to his query from Thomas Clark, Esq. who for many years was Town-Clerk of Roxbury, and their Representative in the General Court.

*Boston, 3d November,* 1802.

SIR,

WITH singular pleasure I comply with your request, to relate what I have met with among the records and manuscripts in the town of Roxbury, relative to the interment

terment of the remains of the Rev. John Eliot, generally called "the Apostle."

It does not appear that any record was made at the time, relative to the building of the tomb in which his remains were deposited; nor is it probable that any account of it would have been preserved but for the peculiar circumstances attending it. Many years subsequent to the decease of Mr. Eliot, (about fifty, perhaps,) Major John Bowles, a respectable character in the town of Roxbury, claimed the tomb as the property of the Eliot family, of which, I think, his lady was one. This led to an investigation, and a reference; and, no record being found, the affidavits of a number of very aged people were taken, and recorded to perpetuate the remembrance of them, all of which agreed in the following facts, viz. That several years before the death of Mr. Eliot, an inhabitant of Roxbury was taken by the Turks, and kept in bondage: when his friends heard of his deplorable situation, they were greatly affected, and raised, by voluntary contribution, a sum of money (the amount is not mentioned) and sent it by a friend for his ransom; but before the money arrived the person for whose relief it was designed was dead; in consequence of which the money was brought back, and the owners being unwilling it should be applied to any common purpose, appropriated it to the building a tomb for the burial of their deceased ministers; and I think one or more of the deponents affirmed, that before the tomb was finished the good old gentleman died.

Your most obedient, humble servant,

THOMAS CLARK.

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The prejudice against the use of tobacco, was not confined to the character of individuals. It was the prevailing sentiment of the people that it had a bad tendency, and may serve for an excuse for Mr. Eliot, who so often admonished persons who made too free with it. Governor Winthrop says:—

"At this Court (1634) were many laws made against tobacco, and immodest fashions and costly apparel, &c. as appears from the *Records*."

## Governor Dudley's Letter to the Countess of Lincoln.

*To the Right Honourable, my very good Lady, the Lady Bridget, Countess of Lincoln.*

Madam,

YOUR letters (which are not common nor cheap) following me hither into *New England*, and bringing with them renewed testimonies of the accustomed favours you honoured me with in the *Old*, have drawn from me this narrative retribution, which (in respect of your proper interest in some persons of great note amongst us) was the thankfullest present I had to send over the seas. Therefore I humbly intreat your Honour this be accepted as payment from him, who neither hath, nor is any more, than

Your Honours
Old
Thankful Servant,

THOMAS DUDLEY.

*Boston* in *New England*,
*March* 12*th*, 1630.

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FOR the satisfaction of your Honour, and some friends, and for the use of such as shall hereafter intend to increase our plantation in *New England*, I have in the throng of domestick, and not altogether free from publick business, thought fit to commit to memory our present condition, and what hath befallen us since our arrival here; which I will do shortly, after my usual manner, and must do rudely, having yet no table, nor other room to write in, than by the fire-side upon my knee, in this sharp winter; to which my family must have leave to resort, though they break good manners, and make me many times forget what I would say, and say what I would not.

Concerning the *English* that are planted here: I find that

that about the year 1620. certain *English* set out from *Leyden* in *Holland*, intending their course for *Hudson's* river. These being much weather beaten, and wearied with seeking the river, after a most tedious voyage, arrived at length in a small bay, lying north-east from *Cape Cod*; where landing about the month of *December*, by the favour of a calm winter, such as was never seen here since, begun to build their dwellings in that place, which now is called *New-Plimouth*: Where after much sickness, famine, poverty, and great mortality, (through all which, God by an unwonted Providence carried them) they are now grown up to a people, healthful, wealthy, politick and religious; such things doth the Lord for those that wait for his mercies. They of *Plimouth* came with patents from King *James*, and have since obtained others, from our soveraign, King *Charles*, having a Governour and Council of their own: There was about the same time, one Mr. *Weston*, an *English* merchant, who sent divers men to plant and trade; who sate down by the river of *Wesaguscus*, but these coming not for so good ends as those of *Plymouth*, sped not so well; for the most of them dying and languishing away, they who survived were rescued by those of *Plymouth*, out of the hands of *Chickatalbott*, and his *Indians*, who oppressed those weak *English*, and intended to have destroyed them: And the *Plymotheans* also, as is set down in a tract, written by Mr. *Winslow* of *Plymouth*: Also since, one Captain *Wollaston* with some thirty with him, came near to the same place, and built on an hill, which he named Mount *Wollaston*; but being not supplied with renewed provisions, they vanished away as the former did. Also divers merchants of *Bristol*, and other places, have yearly for these eight years, or thereabouts, sent ships hither at the fishing times, to trade for bever, where their factors dishonestly for their gains, have furnished the *Indians* with guns, swords, powder and shot.

Touching the plantation which we here have begun: it fell out thus. About the year 1627. some friends being together in *Lincolnshire*, fell into discourse about *New England*, and the planting of the gospel there; and after some deliberation, we imparted our reasons, by letters and messages to some in *London* and the *West Country*; where it was

was likewise deliberately thought upon, and at length with often negotiation so ripened, that in the year 1628. we procured a patent from His Majesty for our planting between the *Massachusetts* bay and *Charles* river on the south, and the river of *Merrimack* on the north, and three miles on either side of those rivers and bay; as also for the government of those who did or should inhabit within that compass: And the same year we sent Mr. *John Endicott*, and some with him, to begin a plantation; and to strengthen such as he should find there, which we sent thither from *Dorchester*, and some places adjoyning: from whom the same year receiving hopeful news: The next year, 1629. we sent divers ships over, with about three hundred people, and some cowes, goats and horses, many of which arrived safely. These by their too large commendations of the country, and the commodities thereof, invited us so strongly to go on, that Mr. *Winthrop* of *Suffolk*, (who was well known in his own country, and well approved here, for his piety, liberality, wisdom and gravity) coming in to us, we came to such resolution, that in *April*, 1630. we set sail from Old *England* with four good ships. And in *May* following, eight more followed; two having gone before in *February* and *March*, and two more following in *June* and *August*, besides another set out by a private merchant. These seventeen ships arrived all safe in *New England*, for the increase of the plantation here this year 1630. but made a long, a troublesome and costly voyage, being all wind bound long in *England*, and hindred with contrary winds, after they set sail, and so scattered with mists and tempests, that few of them arrived together. Our four ships which set out in *April*, arrived here in *June* and *July*, where we found the colony in a sad and unexpected condition, above eighty of them being dead the winter before; and many of those alive, weak and sick; all the corn and bread amongst them all, hardly sufficient to feed them a fortnight: insomuch that the remainder of an hundred and eighty servants we had the two years before sent over, coming to us for victuals to sustain them, we found ourselves wholly unable to feed them, by reason that the provisions shipped for them, were taken out of the ship they were put in; and they who were trusted

trusted to ship them in another, failed us, and left them behind; whereupon necessity enforced us to our extream loss, to give them all liberty; who had cost us about sixteen or twenty pound a person, furnishing and sending over. But bearing these things as we might, we began to consult of the place of our sitting down: For *Salem* where we landed, pleased us not. And to that purpose, some were sent to the Bay, to search up the rivers for a convenient place; who upon their return, reported to have found a good place upon *Mistick*; but some other of us, seconding these, to approve or dislike of their judgment; we found a place liked us better, three leagues up *Charles* river: And thereupon unshipped our goods into other vessels, and with much cost and labour, brought them in *July* to *Charlstown*; but there receiving advertisements (by some of the late arrived ships) from *London* and *Amsterdam* of some *French* preparations against us (many of our people brought with us being sick of fevers, and the scurvy, and we thereby unable to carry up our ordnance and baggage so far) we were forced to change counsel, and for our present shelter to plant dispersedly, some at *Charlstown*, which standeth on the north-side of the mouth of *Charles* river; some on the south-side thereof, which place we named *Boston* (as we intended to have done the place we first resolved on); some of us upon *Mistick*, which we named *Meadford*; some of us westward on *Charles* river, four miles from *Charlstown*, which place we named *Watertown*; others of us two miles from *Boston*, in a place we named *Roxbury*; others upon the river of *Sawgus*, between *Salem* and *Charlstown*: And the Western men, four miles south from *Boston*, at a place we named *Dorchester*. This dispersion troubled some of us, but help it we could not, wanting ability to remove to any place fit to build a town upon; and the time too short to deliberate any longer, least the winter should surprize us before we had builded our houses. The best counsel we could find out was to build a fort to retire to, in some convenient place, if any enemy pressed us thereunto, after we should have fortifyed our selves against the injuries of wet and cold. So ceasing to consult further for that time, they who had health to labour, fell to building, wherein many were interrupted with

with sickness, and many dyed weekly, yea, almost daily. Amongst whom were Mrs. *Pinchon*, Mrs. *Coddington*, Mrs. *Phillips*, and Mrs. *Alcock*, a sister of Mr. *Hookers*. Insomuch that the ships being now upon their return, some for *England*, some for *Ireland*; there was as I take it not much less than an hundred (some think many more) partly out of dislike of our government, which restrained and punished their excesses; and partly through fear of famine, not seeing other means than by their labour to feed themselves) which returned back again; and glad were we so to be rid of them. Others also afterwards hearing of men of their own disposition, which were planted at *Pascataway*, went from us to them; whereby though our numbers were lessened, yet we accounted our selves nothing weakned by their removal: Before the departure of the ships, we contracted with Mr. *Peirce*, master of the *Lyon* of *Bristol*, to return to us with all speed, with fresh supplies of victuals, and gave him directions accordingly; with this ship returned Mr. *Revil*, one of the five undertakers here, for the joynt stock of the company; and Mr. *Vassal*, one of the assistants, and his family; and also Mr. *Bright*, a minister sent hither the year before: The ship being gone, victuals wasting, and mortality increasing, we held divers fasts in our several congregations, but the Lord would not yet be deprecated; for about the beginning of *September*, dyed Mr. *Gager*, a right godly man, a skilful chyrurgeon, and one of the deacons of our congregation. And Mr. *Higginson*, one of the ministers of *Salem*, a zealous and a profitable preacher; this of a consumption, that of a fever: And on the 30*th* of *September*, dyed Mr. *Johnson*, another of the five undertakers, (the Lady *ARBELLA* his wife being dead a month before.) This gentleman was a prime man amongst us, having the best estate of any; zealous for religion, and the greatest furtherer of this plantation; he made a most godly end, dying willingly, professing his life better spent in promoting this plantation, than it could have been any other way. He left to us a loss greater than the most conceived. Within a month after, dyed Mr. *Rossiter*, another of our assistants, a godly man, and of a good estate, which still weakned us more: So that now there were left of the five undertakers, but the Governour,

Sir

Sir *Richard Saltonstall*, and myself, and seven other of the Assistants. And of the people who came over with us, from the time of their setting sail from *England*, in *April* 1630. until *December* following, there dyed by estimation about two hundred at the least; so low hath the Lord brought us! Well, yet they who survived were not discouraged, but bearing Gods corrections with humility, and trusting in his mercies; and considering how after a lower ebb he had raised up our neighbours at *Plymouth*, we began again in *December* to consult about a fit place to build a town upon; leaving all thoughts of a fort, because upon any invasion, we were necessarily to lose our houses, when we should retire thereinto: So after divers meetings at *Boston*, *Roxbury* and *Watertown*, on the twenty-eighth of *December*, we grew to this resolution, to bind all the Assistants (Mr. *Endicott*, and Mr. *Sharp* excepted, which last purposeth to return by the next ship into *England*) to build houses, at a place a mile east from *Watertown*, near *Charles* river, the next spring, and to winter there the next year; that so by our examples, and by removing the ordnance and munition thither, all who were able might be drawn thither, and such as shall come to us hereafter to their advantage, be compelled so to do; and so if God would, a fortifyed town might there grow up, the place fitting reasonably well thereto. I should before have mentioned how both the *English* and *Indian* corn being at ten shillings a strike, and bever being valued at six shillings a pound; we made laws to restrain the selling of corn to the *Indians*, and to leave the price of bever at liberty, which was presently sold for ten, and twenty shillings a pound. I should also have remembred, how the half of our cowes, and almost all our mares and goates, sent us out of *England*, dyed at sea in their passage hither; and that those intended to be sent us out of *Ireland*, were not sent at all; all which, together with the loss of our six months building occasioned by our intended removal to a town to be fortifyed, weakned our estates, especially the estates of the undertakers, who were three or four thousand pounds ingaged in the joynt stock, which was now not above so many hundreds; yet many of us laboured to bear it as comfortably as we could, remembring the

the end of our coming hither, and knowing the power of God, who can support and raise us again; and useth to bring his servants low, that the meek may be made glorious by deliverance.

I have no leisure to review and insert things forgotten, but out of due time and order must set them down as they come to memory. About the end of *October*, this year 1630. I joyned with the Governour, and Mr. *Maverick* in sending out our pinace to the *Narragansetts*, to trade for corn, to supply our wants; but after the pinace had doubled *Cape Cod*, she put into the next harbour she found, and there meeting with *Indians*, who shewed their willingness to truck; she made her voyage there, and brought us an hundred bushels of corn, at about four shillings a bushel, which helped us something. From the coast where they traded, they saw a very large island, four leagues to the east, which the *Indians* commended as a fruitful place, full of good vines, and free from sharp frosts, having one only entrance into it, by a navigable river, inhabited by a few *Indians*, which for a trifle would leave the island, if the *English* would set them upon the main; but the pinace having no direction for discovery, returned without sailing to it, which in two hours they might have done: Upon this coast they found store of vines full of grapes dead ripe, the season being past; whither we purpose to send the next year sooner, to make some small quantity of wine, if God inable us; the vines growing thin with us, and we not having yet any leisure to plant vineyards. But now having some leisure to discourse of the motives for other mens coming to this place, or their abstaining from it; after my brief manner, I say this: That if any come hither to plant for worldly ends, that can live well at home, he commits an error, of which he will soon repent him: But if for spiritual, and that no particular obstacle hinder his removal, he may find here what may well content him: *viz.* Materials to build, fewel to burn, ground to plant, seas and rivers to fish in, a pure air to breath in, good water to drink, till wine or beer can be made; which together with the cowes, hoggs and goats brought hither already, may suffice for food; as for fowl and venison, they are dainties here

here as well as in *England*. For cloaths and bedding, they must bring them with them, till time and industry produce them here. In a word, we yet enjoy little to be envyed, but endure much to be pittied in the sickness and mortality of our people. And I do the more willingly use this open and plain dealing, least other men should fall short of their expectations, when they come hither, as we to our great prejudice did; by means of letters sent us from hence into *England;* wherein honest men out of a desire to draw over others to them, wrote somewhat hyperbolically of many things here: if any godly men out of religious ends will come over, to help us in the good work we are about: I think they cannot dispose of themselves, nor of their estates more to God's glory, and the furtherance of their own reckoning: but they must not be of the poorer sort yet, for divers years. For we have found by experience, that they have hindred, not furthered the work: and for profane and debauched persons, their oversight in coming hither is wondred at, where they shall find nothing to content them. If there be any endued with grace, and furnished with means to feed themselves and theirs for eighteen months, and to build and plant, let them come into our *Macedonia*, and help us, and not spend themselves and their estates in a less profitable employment: for others, I conceive they are not yet fitted for this business.

Touching the discouragement which the sickness and mortality which every first year hath seized upon us, and those of *Plymouth*, as appeareth before, may give to such who have cast any thoughts this way (of which mortality it may be said of us almost as of the *Egyptians*, that there is not an house where there is not one dead, and in some houses many) the natural causes seem to be, the want of warm lodging, and good dyet, to which *English* men are habituated at home; and in the sudden increase of heat, which they endure that are landed here in summer; the salt meats at sea having prepared their bodies thereto; for those only these two last years dyed of fevers, who landed in *June* and *July;* as those of *Plymouth*, who landed in winter, dyed of the scurvy; as did our poorer sort, whose housing and beding, kept them not sufficiently warm, nor their

their dyet sufficiently in heart: other causes God may have, as our faithful minister, Mr. *Wilson* (lately handling that point) shewed unto us; which I forbear to mention, leaving this matter to the further dispute of physicians and divines.

Wherefore to return, upon the third of *January*, dyed the daughter of Mr. *Sharp*, a godly virgin, making a comfortable end, after a long sickness. The plantation here received not the like loss of any woman, since we came hither; and therefore she well deserves to be remembred in this place.

Amongst those who dyed about the end of this *January*, there was a girl of eleven years old, the daughter of one *John Ruggles*, who in the time of her sickness, expressed to the minister, and those about her, so much faith and assurance of salvation, as is rarely found in any of that age; which I thought not unworthy here to commit to memory: and if any tax me for wasting paper with recording these small matters; such may consider, that *small things in the beginning of natural or politick bodies, are as remarkable as greater, in bodies full grown.*

Upon the fifth of *February*, arrived here Mr. *Pierce*, with the ship *Lyon* of *Bristol*, with supplies of victuals from *England;* who had set forth from *Bristol* the first of *December* before. He had a stormy passage hither, and lost one of his saylors not far from our shore, who in a tempest having helped to take in the sprit sail, lost his hold as he was coming down, and fell into the sea; where, after long swimming, he was drowned, to the great dolour of those in the ship, who beheld so lamentable a spectacle, without being able to minister help to him, the sea was so high, and the ship drove so fast before the wind, though her sails were taken down. By this ship we understand of the fight of three of our ships, and two *English* men of war coming out of the *Straits*, with fourteen *Dunkirks*, upon the coast of *England*, as they returned from us, in the end of the last summer; who through Gods goodness, with the loss of some thirteen or fourteen men, out of our three ships; and I know not how many out of the two men of war, got at length clear of them. The *Charles*, one of our three, a stout ship, of 300 tonn, being so torn, that

that she had not much of her left whole above water. By this ship we also understand of the death of many of those who went from us the last year to *England*, as likewise of the mortality there ; whereby we see there are graves in other places as well as with us.

Amongst others who dyed about this time, was Mr. *Robert Welden*, who in the time of his sickness we had chosen to be captain of 100. foot, but before he took possession of his place, he dyed, the sixteenth of this *February*, and was buried as a souldier, with three vollyes of shott. Upon the twenty second of *February* we held a general day of thanksgiving throughout the whole colony, for the safe arrival of the ship which came last with our provisions.

Upon the eighth of *March*, from after it was fair day light, until about eight of the clock in the forenoon, there flew over all the towns in our plantations, so many flocks of doves, each flock containing many thousands, and some so many, that they obscured the light, that it passeth credit, if but the truth should be written ; and the thing was the more strange, because I scarce remember to have seen ten doves since I came into the country : they were all turtles, as appeared by divers of them we killed flying, somewhat bigger than those of *Europe*, and they flew from the north-east, to the south-west ; but what it portends, I know not.

The ship now waits but for wind, which when it blowes, there are ready to go aboard therein for *England*, Sir *Richard Saltonstall*, Mr. *Sharp*, Mr. *Coddington*, and many others ; the most whereof purpose to return to us again, if God will. In the mean time, we are left a people poor and contemptible, yet such as trust in God ; and are contented with our condition, being well assured, that he will not fail us nor forsake us. I had almost forgotten to add this, that the wheat we received by this last ship, stands us in thirteen or fourteen shillings a strike, and the pease, about eleven shillings a strike, besides the adventure, which is worth three or four shillings a strike ; which is an higher price than I ever tasted bread of before.

Thus, *Madam*, I have as I can, told your Honour, all our matters; knowing your wisdom can make good use thereof.

thereof. If I live not to perform the like office of my duty hereafter, likely it is, some other will do it better.

Before the departure of the ship (which yet was windbound) there came unto us sagamore *John*, and one of his subjects, requiring satisfaction for the burning of two wigwams, by some of the *English;* which wiggwams, were not inhabited, but stood in a place convenient for their shelter, when upon occasion, they should travel that way. By examination we found that some *English* fowlers, having retired into that which belonged to the subject; and leaving a fire therin carelessly which they had kindled to warm them, were the cause of burning thereof. For that which was the sagamores, we could find no certain proof how it was fired: yet least he should think us not sedulous enough to find it out, and so should depart discontentedly from us; we gave both him and his subject, satisfaction for them both.

The like accident of fire also befel Mr. *Sharp*, and Mr. *Colborn*, upon the seventeenth of this *March;* both whose houses (which were as good, and as well furnished as the most in the plantation) were in two hours space burned to the ground; together with much of their household-stuff, apparel, and other things; as also some goods of others, who sojourned with them in their houses; God so pleasing to exercise us with corrections of this kind as he hath done with others. For the prevention whereof, in our new town intended this summer to be builded; we have ordered that no man there shall build his chimney with wood, nor cover his house with thatch, which was readily assented unto; for that divers other houses have been burned since our arrival.

Upon the eighteenth day of *March*, came one from *Salem*, and told us, that upon the fifteenth thereof, there dyed Mrs. *Skelton*, the wife of the other minister there. She was a godly and an helpful woman, she lived desired, and dyed lamented, and well deserves to be honourably remembred.

Upon the twenty fifth of this *March*, one of *Watertown* having lost a calf, and about ten of the clock at night, hearing the howling of some wolves not far off, raised many of his neighbours out of their beds, that by discharging

ing their muskets near about the place where he heard the wolves, he might so put the wolves to flight, and save his calf: the wind serving fit to carry the report of the muskets to *Roxbury*, three miles off, at such a time; the inhabitants there took an alarm, beat up their drum, armed themselves, and sent in post to us to *Boston*, to raise us also: so in the morning, the calf being found safe, the wolves affrighted, and our danger past, we went merrily to breakfast.

I thought to have ended before, but the stay of the ship, and my desire to inform your honour of all I can, hath caused this addition: and every one having warning to prepare for the ships departure to morrow, I am now this twenty eighth of *March*, 1631. sealing my letters.

Your Honours
Old
Thankful Servant,
THOMAS DUDLEY.

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## Historical Sketch of the Life and Character of Colonel Ephraim Williams, and of Williams College, founded in 1793, in consequence of his liberal bequest.

COLONEL Ephraim Williams was born at Newtown, near Boston. He was the oldest son of Colonel Ephraim Williams; who, afterwards, was one of the first settlers of Stockbridge, and a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in the County of Hampshire. Colonel Ephraim, the son, for several years in early life, followed the seas; but, by the persuasion of his father, relinquished that business. In his several voyages to Europe, he visited England, Spain, and Holland; acquired graceful manners, and a considerable stock of useful knowledge. He possessed uncommon military talents; and in the war between England and France, from the year 1740 to 1748, he found opportunity to exert them. He was appointed Captain of a company in the army raised in New-England, in what was called the Canada service. Afterwards he commanded the line of Massachusetts forts, on the west side

side of Connecticut river. During this command, his principal place of residence was Hoosack fort. This stood on the bank of Hoosack-river, in Adams, about three miles and a half east of Williamstown. He had also under his command a small fort in Williamstown, which stood on an eminence a few rods north-west of the meeting-house. Under the protection of these forts, the first settlers in this part of the country began their improvements. Colonel Williams was much conversant with them; and witnessed, with humane and painful sensations, the dangers, difficulties, and hardships which they were obliged to encounter. To encourage them, he intimated his intention of doing something liberal and handsome for them.

After the peace concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, he resided chiefly at Hatfield, in the County of Hampshire. When war again broke out between England and France, in 1755, he had the command of a regiment in the army raised in this, then, Province, for the general defence. While at Albany, and on his way to join the army, he, on the 22d of July, 1755, made his last will. Early in September following, he fell—being shot with a musket ball through the head, in the memorable battle fought with the French and Indians near Lake George. He was then a little more than forty years of age; and had always lived a single life.

In his person, he was large and fleshy. He had a taste for books; and often lamented his want of a liberal education. His address was easy, and his manners pleasing and conciliating. Affable and facetious, he could make himself agreeable in all companies; and was very generally esteemed, respected, and beloved. His kind and obliging deportment, his generosity and condescension, greatly endeared him to his soldiers. By them, he was uncommonly beloved while he lived, and lamented when dead.

When Captain at Fort-Massachusetts, he frequently entered into the pastimes of his soldiers, upon an equal footing with them, and permitted every decent freedom; and again, when the diversions were over, he, with ease and dignity, resumed the Captain.

His politeness and address procured him a greater influence at the General Court than any other person at that day possessed. He was attentive and polite to all descriptions

tions and classes of men, but especially to gentlemen of dignified characters; and sought the company and conversation of men of letters.

The property of Colonel Williams, at the time of his death, was not very considerable. It consisted principally in notes, bonds, and obligations; and in new lands, in the two western counties of the Commonwealth. Yet, as far as his circumstances enabled him, he generously made provision in his will, to answer the expectations which he had raised in the minds of the first settlers of Williamstown. After several small bequests to his relatives and friends, he willed, "That the remainder of his lands should be sold, at the discretion of his executors, within five years after an established peace; and that the interest of the monies arising from the sale, and also the interest of his notes and bonds, should be applied, to the support of a Free-School, in a township west of fort Massachusetts; provided the said township fall within Massachusetts, upon running the line between Massachusetts and New-York, and provided the said township, when incorporated, be called Williamstown."—Both of these conditions took place.

John Worthington, Esq. of Springfield and Israel Williams, Esq. of Hatfield, the executors of the will, sold the lands, agreeably to the direction of the testator. The monies arising from the sales were loaned to responsible men; and mortgages taken to secure the payment of principal and interest. The yearly interest was again loaned; and thus, by the provident and faithful management of the executors, the fund was annually increased. In the year 1785, they applied to the General Court for an act to enable them to carry into effect the benevolent intention of the testator. An act was accordingly passed, incorporating "William Williams, Theodore Sedgwick, Woodbridge Little, John Bacon, Thomson J. Skinner, Israel Jones, and David Noble, Esquires, the Rev. Seth Swift and the Rev. Danel Collins, trustees of the donation of Ephraim Williams, Esq. for maintaining a Free-School in Williamstown."

In the year 1788, the trustees voted to erect a building for the accommodation of the Free-School. A lottery was granted them by the General Court to raise the sum of 4,000

4,000 dollars; and the inhabitants of Williamstown raised by subscription, 2,000 dollars more towards the expense of the building. In 1790, a brick building, eighty-two feet long, forty-two wide, and four stories high, was erected; containing twenty-eight rooms for the accommodation of the students, and a chapel, which occupies the space of four rooms. The expense of this building, when finished, was estimated at about 11,700 dollars. The funds then remaining at interest amounted to about the same sum.

In October, 1791, the Free-School (as the act, in conformity to the will, termed it) was opened, under the direction of a preceptor and an English schoolmaster. An usher was soon afterwards appointed. This school consisted of two departments; a grammar-school, or academy, and an English free-school. The latter was almost wholly composed of boys from the higher classes in the common schools in Williamstown. They were taught reading, writing and arithmetick. In the former, all the arts and sciences, which compose the usual course of education in the New-England colleges, were taught. This department rapidly increased in numbers. Youth resorted to it, not only from the county and vicinity, but from New-York, Canada, and other distant parts of the country. Its usefulness, in several respects, and especially in one, was soon experienced. Many young men came to this Academy to qualify themselves to become useful and reputable instructors of common schools. Not a few of them had before taught school; though very imperfectly qualified for the business. The happy consequence was, that many of the common schools in this part of the country were soon furnished with much more competent instructors than had before been employed.

In this situation as to officers and instruction, and in a state of increasing reputation and usefulness, the Free-School and Academy continued till September, 1793. In June of that year, the General Court incorporated the institution into a College; and, in honour to Colonel Williams, whose liberal donation laid the foundation of the funds, they called it WILLIAMS COLLEGE. All the gentlemen, who were trustees of the Free-School, were made trustees of the College; and to them were added the

the Rev. Stephen West, D. D. (elected vice-president at the first session of the board) Henry Van Schaack, and Elijah Williams, Esquires, and the president of the College for the time being. The charter, or act of incorporation, allowed the board of trustees to consist of seventeen members, including the president—empowered them to fill all vacancies which might take place by death or resignation —to confer the usual academick degrees, and doctorates after the first day of January, 1800—and to hold property to the clear annual amount of six thousand pounds.—The General Court accompanied this charter with a liberal grant of 4,000 dollars, payable out of the treasury of the Commonwealth, at four annual instalments.

To the gentlemen of the board of trustees, whose names are inserted in the charter, three have since been added by election. These are the Hon. Stephen Van Rensselaer, of Albany, late lieutenant-governor of the state of New-York, the Rev. Job Swift, of Bennington, Vermont, and the Rev. Ammi R. Robbins, of Norfolk, Connecticut.

In October, 1793, the College was duly organized, and three small classes were admitted. The English Free-School was discontinued ; but the Grammar-School, or Academy, was continued in connection with the College.

In 1794, a convenient house was built, and a lot of six acres of land adjoining was purchased, for the use and accommodation of the president.

The General Court, at their session in January, 1796, granted to the president and trustees of Williams College the right of locating two townships in the District of Maine. One of these was sold in May following, for about 10,000 dollars, and the avails of it, with about 2,400 dollars more, applied to the erection of another college edifice. This also is of brick, one hundred and four feet by twenty-eight, four stories high, and contains thirty-two chambers for the accommodation of students. Adjoining to each chamber is a bed-room and study ; except three only, which have no bed-room nor study, and are used by the three upper classes as recitation chambers. This edifice was finished in 1798. The same year, a large and elegant meeting-house, built in Williamstown by subscription, was completed and dedicated. Towards this, the treasurer of the

the corporation, by their order, subscribed and paid one hundred pounds; on condition that convenient pews and seats should be assigned to the officers and students of College, and that the corporation should have the use of the house on commencement day, and on other publick days.

About six hundred dollars have been expended for a philosophical apparatus. The articles it contains have been very judiciously selected; principally by the advice and direction of the Rev. Dr. Prince, of Salem. It wants several very useful and important articles; which, from the scantiness of the funds, cannot at present be procured.

The library contains between seven and eight hundred volumes only; but they are principally the best classick, or the most approved modern works. This library, though so small, with the aid of a good collection of three or four hundred volumes belonging to two societies of under-graduates, furnishes the officers of College and the students with a tolerable supply of useful and necessary books. For the privilege of using the library, each student of the two higher classes pays twenty-five cents, and each student of the two lower classes seventeen cents quarterly. The money thus raised amounts annually to seventy or eighty dollars; and is a fund, appropriated by law, to repair and augment the library. It is the duty of the president to draw it annually from the College treasury, apply it to this purpose, and render an account of its application yearly to the board of trustees. This wise regulation enables the president to add every year to the library some of the best European and American publications.

The executive officers and instructors are a president, a vice-president, and three or four tutors. The vice-president has no salary, and takes no part in the instruction or government of College, but in case of the death or resignation of the president, and until another president is elected and inducted into office. The salaries of the president and tutors are very moderate; amounting, when there are four tutors, to only one thousand nine hundred dollars, exclusive of twenty dollars to the senior tutor, as librarian; viz. to the president, eight hundred dollars, and to each tutor, two hundred and seventy-five dollars.

Commencement

Commencement is held on the first Wednesday of September annually. The first commencement was held in 1795. One hundred and five students of the College, and thirty other gentlemen, have received its public honours. One hundred and three students now belong to the four under-graduate classes.

In the course of ten years, viz. from 1789 to 1799, the trustees expended, in necessary buildings and accommodations for the officers and students, and in a small library, and apparatus, about twenty-eight thousand dollars. These expenditures were, in their opinion, absolutely necessary, in order to meet and encourage the rapid increase of the institution. While they gratefully acknowledge the liberality of their first benefactor, Colonel Williams, and the generous aid afforded them by the Legislature of the Commonwealth; they entertain pleasing hopes that Providence will raise them up other friends, benefactors, and patrons, as their necessities call for assistance. A chapel, and additions to the apparatus are, at present, very much wanted.

The situation of the College, in a decent, thriving country town, is found, by experience, to be highly favourable to the improvement, and morals of the youth. Comparatively few temptations to dissipation and vice are presented to them. The happy consequence has been, that close application to study, due observance of the laws, decent manners, and good morals, have, with very few exceptions, characterized the youth who have resorted to the College for education. And it is hoped, that the same orderly conduct, application, decency of manners and purity of morals will continue, through every successive generation of students.

*Williamstown, Jan.* 26, 1802.

## A TOPOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF MARBLEHEAD.

THE town of Marblehead in the county of Essex, and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, was originally a part of Salem in the same county; detached therefrom, and incorporated as a town, May 2d, 1649. The town is divided from Forest river principally, on each side of which, in Salem as well as Marblehead, are some tolerable situations for agriculture. The first settlers made their pitch on the eastern side of the town, taking advantage of a very good harbour, running north-east and south-west, and towards half a mile on an average.* At the south-west end of the harbour the town is connected with the *Great Neck*, so called, by a very narrow isthmus, separating the waters of Lynn bay from those of the harbour.

About the year 1728, it was found that the sea was fast encroaching on the south-west side of this isthmus, so as to endanger the preservation and security of the harbour. The government of the province at that time attended to the subject, as it respected not only the town in particular, but the trade of the province in general; and ordered by an *Act* the sum of thirteen hundred and twenty-eight pounds, to be paid out of the public treasury, for *necessary repairs*. It seems that about the year 1762, some *necessary repairs* were made. In the year 1790, although the town had carefully endeavoured to *secure*, *support*, and *keep the same in good repair*, the Government of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, considering that the preservation of the said harbour was a matter of public concern, &c. granted a sum of £.1000 to be raised by a lottery or lotteries, the proceeds whereof should be applied in repairing the fortifications of the isthmus, before that time made, and in further securing the same.

This

* The soil is very rocky, if any part of this rough spot can be called *soil*—to a stranger it appears more like a ridge of rocks than ground for cultivation. In the oration upon the death of President Holyoke, who had been once a minister in this town, it is described,

"*Marmaracria*, oppidum maritimum, saxis abundans: inde, novanglicè dictum, Marblehead. Asperrima vox, aures latinas horridè perstringens."

This indulgence was peculiarly opportune and acceptable, as the town suffered by distresses consequent upon the American revolution. About the year 1742, this town was authorized by the Government, it seems, with a grant of £.690 to erect within the town or harbour a good and sufficient breast-work, and a platform built for the accommodation of 12-pounders or other guns equivalent, and suitable warlike stores. This fort was of course erected, and carefully attended, under the inspection of the late Captain Thomas Gerry, the commanding officer, and others, till it became the property of the United States of America, with usual provisos, attending such publick property; and is now become a very respectable fortification as a key to protect the interior part of Salem, its fort and citadel, and the interior part of Beverly.

The body of the town is near four miles in length, and two miles wide, containing about 3,700 acres. The *Great Neck*, so called, is about one mile in length and half a mile wide on an average, and contains about 300 acres. The whole may be estimated about 4,000 acres, exclusive of two small islands. The town is bounded on the north, the east, and south-west, by Salem bay, the sea, and Lynn bay; and west, and north-west, by Salem and Forest-river; so solitary and detached, that it is not a thoroughfare to other places.

The first settlers, though few in number, and small in means, attached themselves in part to agriculture, but principally to the cod-fishery and merchandize, which has been the case very much with their posterity.

In the year 1714, the place is thus described by one* who was capable of making just observations upon men and manners; and who lived long enough to see it in the most flourishing state: "There were two companies of men, badly clothed, who attempted to do military duty, but trained to no military discipline but that of *whipping the snake*, as they called it. Now, (in 1766) and for years past we have seen it, a distinct regiment is completed of seven companies, well clad, bright countenances, vigorous and active men; so well trained in the use of their arms, and the various motions and marches, as to exceed most other regiments in the country, and equal the

* Rev. Mr. Barnard's diary, in MS.

the best in the appearance of spirited men, and the manual exercise."

The same writer observes, that the town improved in every thing else equal to the excellence exhibited at a military review. Early in the century, or before 1720, "There was not a carpenter, a tailor, nor mason, nor butcher in the town; nor any thing of a market worth naming. They had their houses built by country workmen, and their clothes made out of town, and supplied themselves with beef and pork from Boston, which drained the town of its money. Some years after, the town abounded with artificers, good workmen of every description, and the market had a full supply. At the time before mentioned, there was not one foreign vessel, although the town always possessed every advantage for a free and extensive navigation. The people contented themselves to be slaves to work in the mines, leaving it to the merchants of Salem, Boston, and Europe, to carry off the gains, by which means the town was poor, and in debt:—so much were they involved in debt to merchants of other places, that very few families, not more than twenty, were independent as to their circumstances. They were generally a rude, swearing, drunken, and fighting crew, but as they increased in numbers, they made improvements in social life, in virtue and good morals. By the middle of the century, the manners of the people were so much cultivated, as to be remarkable for their civilities, and especially for their hospitality to strangers. There were not only gentleman-like families, and pious and well behaved people in the town, but the very fishermen rose superior to the rudeness of the former generations. When they were persuaded by individuals of publick spirit to send their fish to foreign markets, they soon became conversant with the mysteries of trade, they soon likewise became sensible of the advantage they should reap by it. And while individuals grew rich, the town also received the benefit.

"Mr. Joseph Swett, a young man of strict justice, of great industry, enterprising genius, quick apprehension, and firm resolution, but small fortune, was the first man who engaged in it. He sent a cargo to Barbadoes, and from the profits of the voyage found that he increased his stock, and went

went on building vessels: Till he was enabled to send vessels to Europe, loading them with fish, and pointing out to *others the path* to *riches.* The more promising young men of the town followed his example; and from this small beginning, Marblehead became one of the first trading towns of the *Bay.* In the year 1766, there were between thirty and forty ships, brigs, snows, and topsail schooners engaged in foreign trade.

The town before the American revolution (in the words of a respectable gentleman, who preached the sermon at the ordination of Mr. Hubbard) "as to its numbers and opulence, swarmed with inhabitants, was a pattern of industry, flourished in trade, and abounded with wealth; from hence, as from a fountain, streams of wealth flowed out, which greatly enriched the vicinity, and penetrated far into the country."

About the year 1770, this town was supposed to contain a greater number of inhabitants than any other town of the province, Boston excepted; its proportion in the province tax was next to Boston, and was supposed at that time to have imported more hard money than any other town in the province.

The locality of the immediate and direct business of the cod-fishery, renders it very natural that disasters attending the same might be concentrated to one point of view; while the extensive ramifications of mercantile business from the District of Maine to the State of Georgia, does not afford the advantage of a central point at which to average losses in this last respect.

The town of Marblehead is one of the few that have earnestly entered into this business of cod-fishery. In general, the town have been successful; but at some periods their success has been checked. A striking instance of it is that in the year 1771. The disasters they met with in that time were such, as to leave, in a helpless situation, a very considerable number of widows and fatherless children. Much to the credit of the government of the province at the time being, and of the good people thereof, it must be observed in this recital, that by means of a *Brief*, issued by the government, the sum of £.117-16-10-$\frac{3}{4}$ was collected for the relief of the poor and distressed persons

sons in said town of Marblehead, and committed to a respectable committee for distribution. In contrast to the disaster last mentioned, it may be remarked, with gratitude to Him who permits Zebulon to rejoice in his goings forth, that, in August 4, 1800, arrived into the port of Marblehead sixteen bankers from the fishing banks, averaging 650 quintals each ; total, 10,400 quintals of fish : besides remarkable success during both the years 1800—1801. On July 18, of the last mentioned year, one fishing schooner arrived from the banks, on her first fare, with 28,000, tantamount to 900 quintals.

After the year 1771, their numbers and opulence, at this given period, considered, began a series of disasters "*horrenda dictu.*"

The first was on the introduction of the small-pox into the town, and the destruction of the hospital at Cat island, near the town. This island belonged to the town of Salem, and the trespass was against the town as well as the proprietors of the hospital, as the island was their soil. It was to be attributed to the rude and uncultivated conduct of some individuals, unrestrained by government, influenced by private piques, and not led by animosities of any other kind.

Their next and a prominent inconvenience took place at the commencement of the American revolution : having been nearly exhausted in property, they were overtaken in a common resentment of injuries offered to the provinces by their *parent country.* Through this revolution they passed, perhaps in greater distress than any other place in the United States. Their opulent merchants leaving their stand for business, submitting their property to be sacrificed, and retiring to interior parts for immediate safety : another class of citizens being obliged to do the same ; and a different class forced into the land and sea service, contrary to their former habits ; besides another class that took joyfully the spoiling of their goods, and stood by the stuff.

In the politicks of their country they have ever taken a part. The compiler* of this, well remembers an instance in the publick rejoicing on the repeal of the *Stamp Act :* in the course of which, an excellent member of society,

* ISAAC MANSFIELD, Esq.

ety, civil and ecclesiastical, from pure and unadulterated patriotism, displayed his feelings by a golden candlestick for the place of the king, and a silver candlestick for each of his ministers, beautifully illuminating his illuminated house!

In the distresses to which the town of Boston was reduced by the *Boston Port Bill*, which took place, June 1, 1774, and by other subsequent acts of parliament, while large supplies of provisions were furnished by different towns, Marblehead was not deficient. It appears, by their instructions to their representative, June 6, 1774, that their feelings were alive for the distressed, but truly respectable Bostonians; directing that the Bostonians should not be suffered to bear more than their proportionable part of the unrighteous sacrifice then making of their interest; proposing that the same should be equally borne, if not by the provinces in general, by this in particular; averring, that in supporting them, they should be propping the tottering liberties of America. At the same meeting of the town, by a vote, they directed the selectmen to accommodate the inhabitants of Boston, and other towns immediately affected by the Port Bill, during its operation, with the use of their publick buildings, free of any expense. At the same time, their merchants, partaking of the same philanthropick and patriotick principles, opened their stores, and offered their wharves, to the convenience of such of their oppressed neighbours as might be thereby accommodated.

In the year 1775, the town of Marblehead furnished of its own inhabitants to the publick service one intire regiment, completely officered and manned; the value of this regiment at that trying period, composed of men inured to fatigue and danger, and not wasted by sickness in any *one* instance, is best determined by a recollection of their patience, bravery and effective service.

The valiant James Mugford, who was the commander in taking a powder ship from the enemy, early in the course of the American war, and lost his life in the enterprise, and whose family has never yet received the bounty provided by government in such case, was an inhabitant of this town. In the year 1780, a brig, with the commander and his crew, belonging to this town, was captured by a British

British privateer; they soon took possession of the privateer, and thereby availed themselves of the brig.

In the year 1782, three lads were put on board a brig at Quebeck, to be sent to England; after having been at sea a few days, they took possession of her, and conducted her in safety to this town, the place of their nativity. In the same year, the ship St. Helena, escorting an American fleet from Havana to Philadelphia, was taken by the British sloop of war Lively, commanded by Michael Stanhope, Esq.; about ten of the prisoners, under the direction of three lads, of this place (each of them under twenty-one years of age) retook the Lively, and conducted her into Havana, where she was sold for a very handsome price. Indeed, the particular narration of similar enterprizes, appropriated to the inhabitants of this place, would swell this recital too much; for which the compiler must very particularly apologize to the readers and others interested.

| | *Rateable Polls.* | *Tons of Shipping.* | *Inhabitants.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1772 | 1203 | 12,313 | —— |
| 1780 | 544 | —— | —— |
| 1783 | 873 | 1,509 | 4443 |
| 1790 | 1112 | —— | 5661 |
| 1800 | 1108 | —— | 5204 |

The census of 1800, compared with that of 1790, shews a decrease; this decrease is to be attributed in part, if not wholly, to the emigration of many families and individuals, as well as the waste of many other individuals in the sea service, who had been enumerated in the census of 1790. In a natural state of things, the number of females in the human species is about equal to the number of males; and *while*, for some purpose hidden in the counsels of Infinite Wisdom, wars, &c. are permitted, a proper balance *is* preserved between the sexes, notwithstanding the usual and common waste or deficiency, occasioned by wars and sea service; such an accurate proportion continued between males and females, tends very greatly to prove the providential government of God, if such proof or confirmation can be wanting or found convenient. However, it may be considered as singular, that in the late census of this town, there are found

found to be, including all ages, two hundred and eighty four females more than males.

At a meeting of this town of Marblehead, on March 16, 1789, it was voted to present his Excellency JOHN ADAMS, Esq. (then *second* in rank to GEORGE WASHINGTON, the father and saviour of his country) with an address; which address was in the following words, viz.

"SIR,

"The inhabitants of Marblehead, in common with "their fellow-citizens, have ever felt strongly impressed "with sentiments of gratitude and satisfaction for the em- "inent services rendered by you to the United States of "America in all their foreign negociations, which have "been committed to your charge. In considering the "result of these negociations, we find ourselves under very "peculiar obligations for your faithful and unshaken pat- "ronage of the fishery, which we apprehended to have "been in danger from the politicks and interests of pow- "erful nations.

"We therefore, now being legally assembled in town- "meeting, pray your Excellency to accept this our unan- "imous address, as expressing our sense of those essential "benefits, which we now enjoy in the preservation of the "fishery, for which we believe ourselves more especially "indebted to your Excellency.

"While we are enjoying the fulness of those benefits, "we pray your Excellency will indulge us to furnish your "table with a small share of the fruits of your good ser- "vices, which we wish may be accepted as a mark of our "gratitude."

It may be observed, that an increase of natural and moral evil, will bear some proportion to an increase of population and its concomitants. It seems designed by Providence, that various and differing kingdoms, nations, &c. shall at some period, become united as one; commerce naturally tends to this object: but, as it is necessary to check an undue ambition, the wisdom of Providence permits an evil to attend this important tendency; and, commonly dissipation and vice are mutually and alternately

nately imported and exported ; though the same Providence gives a remedy in the case by supplying the growing number of inhabitants with the means of encouraging institutions of religion and education, and frequently we find a disposition in mankind to devote a part of their attention to these important objects. Where institutions of religion are supported and connected with a liberal toleration of different denominations, and where education is encouraged with the same indulgence, considering the very great variety in the improvement of the human mind, under such advantages, it must be very strange, to find all agreeing entirely in opinion ; and in fact, we may plainly trace the wisdom of Providence in this respect, inasmuch as difference in opinions on religious or political subjects, if attended with a generous toleration, may operate in mollifying discordant apprehensions, and extinguishing violence of party spirit. The common differences in opinion on these subjects have ever been preserved in this place in the bonds of peace, and a common medium, between the extremes of intolerance, has been invariably pursued.

It is very singular, that, notwithstanding the inhabitants of this town have ever distinguished themselves, as well by their attachment to means of education as to those of religion, at the same time displaying their patriotism and sense of the importance of publick virtue ; so few of their sons were found honoured with a place in the catalogue of the Harvard University, previous to the American revolution. Directed by his own sense of the importance of education, the Rev. John Barnard, by his last *will*, deposited with the said University a testimonial of his regard to the interests of religion and literature.

At or about the commencement of the American revolution, the finances of the town were such as to render it convenient to them, as well as to their duty, to address themselves to the important subject of education of the rising generation, and support an adequate number of schools for the purpose : but *inter arma silent leges.* In other words, all institutions for the regular government of political bodies of men and for education of their rising posterity, must be prostrated in a state *of war.*

Gradually

Gradually advancing from the embarrassed circumstances, in which the late revolution left them, about the beginning of the year 1788, the parents of four or five and twenty youths in Marblehead, observing that the publick grammar-school and writing-schools upon private establishment there, were so much crowded with scholars, that their children could not have that attention of the masters, however well qualified they might be for their respective departments, that they (the parents) conceived necessary for their making such progress in literature, as they might reasonably expect, had in contemplation, and formed a design, of procuring a preceptor to teach their children only reading, writing, English grammar, the Latin and Greek languages, arithmetick, accounts, geography, musick, rhetorick, the art of speaking, &c. And at the same time to instil into their minds, virtuous and religious principles; whereby they might become useful members of society:—and out of their number they selected certain persons, as their trustees, to carry their design into execution, by procuring a proper person for a preceptor, and engaging him a suitable salary, providing a proper place for attending the instruction of the pupils, and to regulate the school respecting the instruction and government thereof; and to these trustees the parents of the pupils were to pay their proportion of the charges, quarterly.

The trustees of this institution so exerted themselves, that about the first of April, 1788, the school was opened, in a building of Mr. Jeremiah Proctor, in the north-west part of the town, being the most convenient place then to be obtained: the school having the name of *the Academy* applied to it.

The preceptor, for the first six months, was Mr. Freeman,* a gentleman of such accomplishments as to afford the proprietors (or undertakers) of the school a prospect equal to their fondest wishes for their children. Mr. Freeman was succeeded by Mr. Harris,† not less accomplished for

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* Graduated at the University of Cambridge (Massachusetts) 1787.

† Graduated at the University aforementioned, 1786.

for the important service, who continued in the preceptor's chair several years.

In the beginning of the year 1789, a number of publick spirited persons, among whom were some, if not all the trustees of the academy, taking into consideration the propriety of there being in the town of Marblehead, a building adapted to publick uses, such as an assembly-room, occasional exhibitions, meetings of the selectmen, assessors, and other town-officers, academical exercises, &c. have, with great dispatch, erected an elegant building, in a place now called School-street.—One part of this building being accommodated to the purposes of a school, with a special view to the trustees of the academy procuring and hiring it for that purpose; gives occasion of the whole edifice being called by the name of *Academy-Hall*. The scholars of the academy moved unto this edifice, June 30th, 1789; and, on the 6th day of July, there was had there, a publick annual exhibition of academical exercises; to the general satisfaction of near three hundred spectators from this* and the neighbouring towns.

Mr. Joseph Prince, a young gentleman of seventeen years of age, having been, about four or five years before, initiated in Latin grammar, at the publick school, where he read Cheever's Accidence, Clark's Corderius, Æsop's Fables, and perhaps Erasmus; and afterwards having been employed by a shop-keeper; became a pupil in the academy, at its first opening, in 1788, beginning his studies there by reading Castalio's Dialogues; and, without any extra and special care and attention of the preceptors, has been fitted for college, and was some time in the said month of July last offered at and admitted a student of the University of Cambridge, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

This young gentleman, the first fruit of this academy, appeared to give credit to it; he passed the term of his education at the University with discretion, and advantage to himself; soon after he received the usual honours of the same, he retired into the interior parts of New-Hampshire, where he became the preceptor of an academy.

Having been impressed in a serious manner in his younger years, he now displayed his promising talents as a preacher,

* Marblehead.

preacher, and was very soon invited to take *the pastoral care* of a church, to which he had early devoted himself.

But the great Head of the church was pleased, in infinite wisdom, to nip the bud, and check rising expectations by his death, after a very short sickness, and before he could be regularly separated to the work of a gospel minister.

Beside the last mentioned, several others have been initiated in this academy into the first principles and rudiments of the dead languages, some having completed their college education ; and others now progressing.

| | |
|---|---|
| Of persons *not* born in Marblehead, *inhabitants*, and graduated at Harvard College, the number is | 21 |
| Of persons born in Marblehead and graduated, &c. | 30 |
| Of another class, not graduated, - - - | 6 |
| Now progressing in education at the University, - | 4 |

In addition to the standing school, capable of accommodating from one hundred to two hundred pupils, the town has erected two buildings for publick schools, beside supporting other schools for the benefit of the lower classes of pupils.

May it be found, that among the *rough rocks* there are *stones* to be met with, capable of receiving a proper polish ; may light be emitted equal to the lustre of the choicest diamonds ; and the ancient observation be verified,

———Sint Mæcenates
Nunquam deserunt Marones.

Present your geniuses capable of improvement, they shall be supplied with able instructors !

Ecclesiastical State.]—The ecclesiastical affairs of so respectable a people as the inhabitants of Marblehead, merit some more particular attention than a general account of the pastors, or the order of the churches. No place in Massachusetts can be mentioned where they have paid more respect to the clergy, or have been more regular in their attendance upon publick worship.

The Rev. Samuel Cheever, their first minister, was ordained 1684. He had preached with them sixteen years previously to his settlement; and died in the year 1724, aged

aged eighty-five. He was a man furnished with good abilities, both natural and acquired; a constant and zealous preacher. Above fifty years, he preached without being taken off from his labours one sabbath. In October, 1719, the infirmities of age obliged him to take leave of his stated exercises, which he did from those words, John ix. 4. *I must work the works of him that sent me, while it is day*, &c. He was a man of peace, and a catholick mind; would never join himself to any party in the town, but those which were for God and religion against vice and immorality. It was a signal favour to Marblehead, that he lived to such an age, and that he was blessed with such a constitution and firm health, as to be able to say that he never was sick in all his life. When he died, the lamp of life fairly burnt out; for he felt no pain even in his expiring moments. He left a widow, who had been his companion fifty-four years, and several children. Some of their descendants remain to this day; among them, have been worthy ministers, and others equally respectable in a different line of life.*

In the year 1714, Mr. Cheever being aged, though not otherwise infirm, the church invited candidates to preach; and after hearing several well accomplished young men, made choice of Mr. John Barnard, for their assistant pastor. He was born in Boston, 1681, and died in January, 1770, at Marblehead. His education was begun at the grammar

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* The family of Cheevers have been remarkable for longevity. The famous Ezekiel Cheever, author of the *Accidence, Scripture Prophecies*, &c. was the father of Mr. Cheever of Marblehead. He died in the year 1708, aged ninety-four. He had been for seventy years a school-master, first at New-Haven, in the year 1637; then at Ipswich; then at Charlestown; and from the year 1670 to his death was preceptor of Boston grammar-school. There have been several of the family who died near ninety, and at fourscore. They were equally remarkable for florid health while they lived, as for the number of years.

It is among the desiderata of the Historical Society to have biographical sketches of the excellent master *Ezekiel Cheever*, who was so useful to the town of Boston and the whole country. His *Accidence* has been through more than twenty editions, and retains its credit now among the very best books for children when they are taught the rudiments of the Latin tongue. The sermon, preached at his death by Dr. Cotton Mather, was reprinted at the expense of Ezekiel Price, Esq. S. H. S. his great-grandson.

grammar-school in Boston, and in the year 1696, he entered Harvard College, where he graduated in the year 1700. This man was reckoned famous among the divines of our country, and was looked up to as the father of the churches, during the latter part of his life; having a vigour of mind and zeal uncommon at such an age. His stature was remarkably erect, and never bent under the infirmities of eighty-eight years. His countenance was grand, his mien majestick, and there was a dignity in his whole deportment. His presence restrained every imprudence and folly of youth; and when the aged saw him, they arose and stood up.*

He was fond of active life; and in his youth discovered such a spirit of enterprise, that he was one of the first that entered the fort at Boston, when the people took possession of it, in the time of Sir *Edmund Andross*. He was appointed, by Governor Dudley, one of the chaplains that went with the army to Port-Royal, in 1707, (now Annapolis) to reduce that fortress to the British crown. In an attempt to take a plan of the fort, a cannon ball was fired at him, that covered him with dirt; but did no other harm, except diverting him from his purpose.

In 1709, upon repeated invitations by Captain John Wentworth, (afterwards Lieut. Governor of New-Hampshire) he sailed with him to Barbadoes and London. While he was in London, happened the affair of Dr. Sacheverel, of which he would often speak, mentioning such minute circumstances as we might expect from the prejudices of an American puritan, united with the garrulity of old age.—All parties now view the business of Sacheverel's trial, as a political rather than a religious phrensy, and the succeeding generation looked with contempt upon what had excited the indignation of their fathers. Mr. Barnard was intimate with some of the famous dissenting ministers, such as Dr. Oldfield, Mr. Fleming and Dr. Calamy, and had some advantageous offers of settlement if he would remain in England. It is mentioned in his own diary, that he also had the offer of going to Ireland with Lord Wharton, as his chaplain, but refused to conform to the articles of the national church. Soon after this, he returned to seek a settlement in his own country.

When

* Vid. Whitwell's funeral sermon.

When the north end of Boston grew very populous, the *Second Church* was too much crowded for the convenience of those who attended worship there; several of the brethren agreed to purchase a spot, and erect another building. They conversed with Mr. Barnard upon the subject, and it was mutually agreed that he should be the pastor. The church was erected, and in May, 1714, he preached the dedication sermon, and supposed that Divine Providence had here fixed the bounds of his habitation. But a more popular candidate being invited, at the desire of Dr. Cotton Mather, to preach for this people, they chose him for their pastor. Mr. Barnard was hurt by the unkind treatment he received, and never spoke of it without a pathos of resentment, even to the day of his death.* During this year he settled at Marblehead, and preached as a colleague with Mr. Cheever, nearly ten years; but from 1719, the service was performed by him. He preached a funeral sermon upon the death of Mr. Cheever. He often printed occasional discourses, and was the author of several books of devotion, which from time to time were emitted from the press. Beside single discourses, a volume of sermons upon *the mystery of the gospel*, another on *the imperfection of the creature;* and one upon *the confirmation of the christian religion*, show his theological knowledge, and good talents for composition. His style of writing is diffuse and plain, but warm and energetick. As a poet, he did not make the figure which he did as a divine. His version of the Psalms, which he fondly hoped would be sung in all the New-England churches, was never introduced into any church

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* The meeting-house built for Mr. Barnard, and dedicated by him, May 23, 1714, from Gen. xxviii. 17, was taken down during the present year, 1802, in the month of August. The corner-stone of the new house was laid, September 23, 1802. A collection of silver currency of the country, and a silver plate, are deposited underneath. The inscription on the plate is,

*New North Church*, built A. D. 1714.
Repaired and much enlarged, 1729.
A tower and steeple erected, 1764.
Taken down *pro bono publico*
A. D. 1802.
John Eliot, Pastor of said Church.
Laus Deo.

church out of the town where they were composed. He could not warble with Watts in lyrick songs, nor did he discover that he had musick in his soul by versifying the Psalms of David.

His knowledge, however, was not confined to theology, but he turned his attention to scientifick subjects, studied mathematicks, and excelled in a skill for naval architecture: Several draughts of his, have been commended by master ship-builders. Such were the amusements of his leisure hours.

By prudence in his affairs he saved considerable property, yet gave tythes of all he possessed. His charity was worthy of imitation. It was not to give encouragement to beggars, nor to act from the mere impulse of compassion, like those who listen to the story of vagrants; but he sought those objects of the good man's bounty, who modestly hide their wants. The poor were often fed, and the widow's heart sang for joy, but knew not where to return thanks except to that God who is a friend of the wretched. One kind of charity was peculiar—He kept two boys at school, whose parents were unable to bear the charge, which has been of much service to the community, beside the benefit the children received from the generosity of their benefactor. By his last will, he gave two hundred pounds to that ancient seat of learning, Harvard College. He left a widow, but no children, except such as he had adopted. With the property to his heirs, he left to the town and country a better name than great riches.

Mr. Barnard was the second minister who died in Marblehead, except one worthy gentleman of the Episcopal church, Mr. Bours, who was taken off in the midst of his days and usefulness. Mr. Cheever and he were continued more than a century, from the time that gentleman preached to the people in 1668. The one never knew what sickness was, and the other was never obliged to leave official duties but once, in the summer of 1746.

In the year 1762, Mr. William Whitwell was ordained assistant minister of this First Church of Marblehead: a very respectable, serious and worthy man, of strict integrity and good sense. He was ordained the fourteenth of January, and was pastor only twenty years. He died at a time

time when the inhabitants of the town were in great straits and difficulties, and needed the advice, friendship, and consolations of such a minister, who naturally cared for them, and was interested in their sufferings.

Mr. Ebenezer Hubbard succeeded Mr. Whitwell, was ordained January 1, 1783, and died 1800, in the month of October.

It seems like a repeated frown of divine Providence, that, amidst their other troubles, they should also partake of this kind of sorrow. They, who had been blessed with the labours of two ministers for near a century, had to mourn the death of two in quick succession.

The expense attending the death and resettlement of pastors would be considered, by a people less remarkable for the beneficent virtues; but a noble and generous spirit, frankness of speech and manners, characterise the inhabitants of this commercial spot. Fallen from circumstances of ease and affluence, they are always ready to support the clergy, and pay every tribute laid upon them for the good of the community.

Mr. Samuel Dana was ordained pastor of the First Church, October 7, 1801.

The Second Church in Marblehead was formed when Mr. Barnard was settled assistant pastor with the aged Mr. Cheever. Mr. Edward Holyoke was one of the candidates who supplied the pulpit, and gained a respectable minority in his favour; who, rather than make a dispute in the society, parted with their brethren on friendly terms, and erected another meeting-house. He was much esteemed as a scholar and gentleman, and when President Wadsworth died, was chosen president of Harvard College, and introduced to that respectable station, A. D. 1737. He died, A. D. 1769; and his character is thus drawn by one of the Fellows of the College.

"Those, who have subdued nations and ravaged empires, have not failed of writers, who have recorded their heroick deeds, and raised literary monuments to their memory. But let not the hero—rather the homicide, who has, in one day, ruined whole provinces;—let not the tyrant, who has owed his greatness to the slavery of millions, be celebrated

celebrated in the records of fame, while the patron of science, the friend of mankind, and the advocate of religion, who has always aimed at promoting the happiness of the world, have his actions passed over in silence, and his name buried in oblivion! Rather, let those publick robbers—the enemies of their species, be held in everlasting contempt and detestation; while these worthies, who, like the all-cheering sun, have diffused their benign influences around, have their names transmitted with honour to the latest posterity.

"To commemorate the virtues of men of this latter character, who have acted their part well on the stage of life, is always grateful to generous minds; and while benevolence and gratitude prompt to it, the voice of the world justly demands it. Of this character was the Reverend EDWARD HOLYOKE, late President of Harvard College, who departed this life last Thursday, about three o'clock in the morning, in the eightieth year of his age. An attempt therefore, to produce to view some of the many excellent qualities that distinguished him, cannot but be approved by all, but the foes of virtue.

"This venerable man was descended from an ancient and reputable family; but far from intirely deriving his dignity from *that*, which is too often the case of many, his own worth would have adorned any family.

"His natural powers, which were very good, were greatly improved by an education at the College; and after he had received its honours, he did not neglect his studies, but prosecuted them with vigour and success, and accumulated a great fund of useful knowledge, in history, the learned languages, and the sciences in general; but especially natural philosophy and the mathematicks, in which he was eminent.

"Such a man could not remain long unnoticed; he was therefore soon elected a Tutor of the College, and not long after a Fellow of the Corporation; both of which stations he filled with reputation to himself, and advantage to the society, with whose interests he was so nearly concerned.

"While he was promoting the cause of literature, and preparing youths for usefulness among mankind, he prosecuted

ecuted the study of theology, to fit himself for advancing the cause of religion in the church of God. And after he had served the College for a few years, he was called to take upon him the pastoral care of a flock of Christ in Marblehead. This charge he executed, as he did all others, with care and fidelity, and exhibited in his life, a comment upon the doctrines he taught, shewing, by his conduct, that the religion of Jesus had an abiding influence upon his own heart. Though he was fixed in his principles of religion, and openly defended what he thought to be the pure doctrines of the gospel; yet he was far from being severe against those who differed from him in some things, if at the same time they appeared to be sincere inquirers after truth. He considered catholicism as an excellent part of the character of a good man; and harshly to censure and anathematize those, who cannot think in all points of religion just as we do, appeared to him to discover, not only an arrogant disposition, but also a great want of that amiable temper, and that extensive charity which the gospel of Jesus recommends. While he was in his pastoral charge he shone much as a preacher, his pulpit performances attracting a general notice; and his distinguished figure as a publick speaker, in conjunction with his many other excellent accomplishments, pointed him out as a person proper to fill some more conspicuous station in life. Accordingly, when the Presidentship of the College was vacant, in Anno 1737, he was chosen by the honourable and reverend Corporation and Overseers, to fill that important place; for which, as it is well known to every one who has had the happiness to be under his care, he was finely turned. Indeed he seemed to be by nature formed for the government to which he was elected, having an admirable talent for commanding the respect and reverence of those committed to his charge, and supporting the honour of his station. His publick appearances were noble, and the affairs of commencement were always conducted by him, with a dignity peculiar to himself. For strict integrity and impartial justice, he was an example worthy the imitation of all who have any concern in publick life: neither family connexions, nor the ties of friendship could ever bias him; and in determining censures,

censures, he was always governed by the nature of the offence, and the good of the society. But though he had the strictest regard to the preserving of government and good order, yet he was far from taking pleasure in punishing offenders, and often did it with a reluctant heart, though for the publick good he thought it necessary. Among his pupils he always distinguished merit far beyond birth or fortune; and the virtuous and ingenious were always sure (however low their circumstances might be) of obtaining his peculiar notice. The distinguishing of such, he justly thought, had a direct tendency to advance literature, and subserve the interests of the College, which he was ever desirous of promoting to the utmost of his power.

"In his private character, he was truly amiable. As a husband, he discovered a manly tenderness, which could not but inspire the sincerest regard and most lasting esteem. As a father, he shone in the government of his family, which, though strict, was ever gentle. While, by a certain dignity of behaviour, he commanded the reverence of his children, by the winning mildness of a friend, he conciliated their affections, and gained their greatest confidence and tenderest love; and their obedience, not flowing from a servile fear, but from more generous principles, was never by constraint, but always yielded with pleasure.

"He had a most friendly heart, and his friendships were lasting: no turns of fortune, with regard to those he had once accounted his friends, ever induced him to alter his conduct towards them; and by nothing could they forfeit his esteem, but by discovering that they were not possessed of those virtues for which he had taken them into his friendship.

"He had such an honesty of mind as is seldom found. Whenever he passed any encomiums, they were not the words of empty adulation, but the real dictates of a sincere heart. When he told any of their faults (which he never declined, when he thought it would answer any valuable purpose) he did it with all plainness; but yet free from the bluntness of a rustick, he executed in such a manner, that it seldom failed of being well received.

"He had a liberal soul that devised liberal things; and his ears were ever open to the cries of the distressed: he was

was always ready to acts of kindness, and he never dealt his favours sparingly. Many of the sons of Harvard can witness to his bounty, which has often relieved them in difficulties, and assisted them in their education. When any thing for the publick good was set on foot, he was ever ready to help it forward to the utmost of his power, and when he bestowed any thing for such a purpose, the largeness of his mind was always discovered.

"As a man of piety he was far from being ostentatious, but his whole behaviour was strictly virtuous and exemplary; his attendance on religious exercises, steady and devotional, and his walk with God in secret, constant.—In short, in whatever character we view him, he appears to have been possessed of so many excellencies, as cannot fail to attract the esteem of all those who regard merit.

"He retained his vigour of body and strength of mind to an uncommon degree in his advanced age, and continued to perform all the duties of his function, with his usual punctuality, till about ten months ago; when it pleased the sovereign Ruler of the universe to visit him with a severe disorder, which soon reduced him to a very languid state, and left no hopes of his recovery. Till about ten days before his death, he was able to walk about, but after that was entirely confined to his bed. Through his long sickness he discovered great patience, and a resignation to the divine will; and we doubt not, that patience had its perfect work, and that he is now gone from this world of sickness and pain, to the heaven of rest; where his labours are at an end, and his works follow him."

"The funeral was attended yesterday in the afternoon,* by the honourable and reverend Overseers and Corporation of the College, the honourable House of Representatives of the province, a great number of ministers from various parts of the country, and by many other gentlemen of distinction.—The attendants upon the funeral being too numerous for the College chapel, the corps was carried to the meeting-house; where a Latin oration, suitable to the mournful occasion, was delivered by Professor Sewall, a prayer made by the Rev. Mr. Appleton, and the solemnity there closed with a funeral anthem, by the under

* June 6, 1769.

under-graduates of the College.—The corps, preceded by the tutors, librarian, resident graduates, and under-graduates, was carried round one of the squares in the lower part of the town, thence to the College, and through a part of the yard, to the burying-ground, where it was deposited.—Thus were committed to the dust the remains of that truly excellent man—President Holyoke: may those who attended this solemnity, not content themselves with having paid the funeral rites, but continue to adorn his memory, by following his amiable example!"

When Mr. Holyoke was elected President of Harvard College, the Second Church of Marblehead proceeded to the choice of another pastor. Mr. Simon Bradstreet, son of the Rev. Simon Bradstreet,* was ordained, January 4, 1738.

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* The elder Mr. Bradstreet was minister of Charlestown; a most learned man, of strong mind, tenacious memory, lively imagination, but subject to hypochondriack complaints, which made him afraid to preach in the pulpit some years before he died. He delivered his sermons in the deacons' seat, without notes, and which were generally melancholy effusions upon the state of man and vanity of the world. He possessed such a catholick spirit, and such liberal views of the gospel dispensation, that some of the more zealous brethren accused him of *Arminianism;* but the only evidence of this, was his fondness for *Tillotson's* sermons, and being rather a *practical* than a *doctrinal* preacher. He seldom or ever appeared with a coat, but always wore a plaid gown, and was seen with a *pipe* in his mouth. When he was introduced to Governour Burnet, who was himself a fine scholar, it was said of him that here was a man who could *whistle Greek.* The late Judge Russell was present, a young lad, when Lieutenant-Governour Tailor thus introduced Mr. Bradstreet to his Excellency. Governour Burnet afterwards spoke of him as one of the first literary characters and best preachers he had met with in these American regions.

The children of Mr. Bradstreet were very respectable for their good sense and their good manners. Several of the third and fourth generation, now living in Charlestown, Boston, and other places, claim the esteem of their acquaintance, for their good qualities as well as honourable descent. Mr. Bradstreet, of Marblehead, was an excellent scholar; but, in the latter part of his life, owing to nervous disorders, was less animated in the delivery of his sermons, and less disposed to mingle with mankind. There are none of his sermons, if he ever published any, now *to be met with.*

A specimen of the classical taste of old Mr. Bradstreet, is on the files of the Historical Society, a copy of which we here give to the publick.

It contains a biographical sketch of a celebrated character; and his predecessor at Charlestown.

Sacræ

1738. The pastor of the First Church, Mr. Barnard, gave the charge on this occasion; and he thus speaks of this gentleman, in a manuscript of his: "Mr. Bradstreet proves a most worthy, pious, devout Christian, and faithful pastor; aiming and labouring to bring over people to God, and Christ, and holiness; has the hearty affections of his people, equal to what Mr. Holyoke had; and with whom I live in brotherly correspondence."

In May, A. D. 1771, Mr. Isaac Story was settled in the Second Church of Marblehead, in conjunction with this gentleman.

Mr. Bradstreet died within a year after his settlement.—Mr. Story married the daughter of Mr. Bradstreet; continued his relation to the church as pastor for thirty years, and is now in another line of business. The church is vacant.

One of the first Episcopal societies in Massachusetts was planted in Marblehead. Their first minister was Mr. Mousam,* who was succeeded by Pigot, Malcom, &c. Mr. Bours

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Sacræ & sempiternæ
Rev^di plurimùm et clarissimi viri
Dom. CAROLI MORTONI,
Ecclesiæ Charlestoniensis Pastoris instructissimi:
Nec non Collegii Harvardini Vice Presid. primi æque ac insigniter in omni Literar^m genere versatiq,
Viri deniq; tum in Anglia, (ubi natus fuit et maximè floruit) tum in Nov-Anglia, (ubi senilis obiit) permultis nominibus celebrandi,
Qui vitæ hâc ærumnosâ probè defunctus, April. die XI. Anno D. MDCXCVIII ætatis suæ LXXII.
Ex parte sui Immortali ac nobilissimâ in Cœlis triumphat: Ex altera verò, corruptibili scilicet, in hoc Monumento paulisper quiescit; expectans dum vocem audierit Filii Dei, quâ revocatus a morte in Vitam verè vitalem quum gloriosus in æternum regnabit.

Epitaphium

Inclyta *Mortonus* musarum gloria quondam
Et sacer Æterni Regis Legatus Jesu
Post varios casus, post funera multa suorum
Sic cadit in cineres resolutus ab hoste supremo,
Ut Domini Virtute sui victrice resurgens
Gaudeat æternis, absorptâ morte, Triumphis.

* Mr. Mousam was either the *first* or *second* minister. In the account of Marblehead, printed in the *Salem Register*, the names of the preachers are Mousam, Pigot, Malcom, Bours, &c. But the fact is, there were two

Bours was the *fifth* minister of this church, and his character is thus given in the manuscripts of father Barnard : "The worthy Mr. Bours, of Rhode-Island, bred at our College, a man of an excellent temper, good learning, and great piety ; whose good character gained more to the church of England, than all who had preceded him. The people

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two missionaries before Mr. Pigot. This gentleman, their third minister, was a considerable scholar, and published a pamphlet upon the observation of Christmas, December 25th, in opposition to the opinion of Delaune, Whiston, and especially the Reverend John Barnard, who had provoked the controversy by printing a sermon against the prevailing sentiment of the Episcopal church. The writer of this note has read Pigot's work with great pleasure, though of a different persuasion.

The second minister, whoever he might be, is described in a MS. frequently quoted in this account, very unlike *the first*, who was not respectable ; but this man was both a scholar and a gentleman. When he first came over, he was ever declaiming against dissenters, but afterwards grew candid towards them. Upon being asked the reason, he said : "Before I came to America I was filled with prejudices against you, as an irreligious and heathenish people, full of spleen and rancour against the Church of England ; but when I had been among you some time, I found you a virtuous, religious, civilized people, and of moderate temper towards the Church, and therefore I altered my conduct." He afterwards removed to Virginia.

Mr. Malcom, the fourth minister, was a man of great learning, and being originally of the kirk of Scotland, retained some fondness for it. He left this church and went to Maryland : Which occasioned their sexton to say—"that their church was the healthiest church in America, for they had never buried a minister, though they had had four."

Another thing may be mentioned in this note, as it sets Bishop Gibson's character in a particular point of view. In the year 1727, John Checkley, Vir claro nomine in Nov. Anglia, a wit, a fine classical scholar, but more remarkable for the eccentricities of his temper and conduct than for his piety or his learning, went to England for Orders, and meant to fix at Marblehead. Mr. Barnard and Mr. Holyoke agreed to write to the Bishop of London, and give his true character. They declared that he was a *Non Juror*, a bitter enemy to other denominations, and that he never had received a liberal education. Mr. Newman presented the letter to Bishop Gibson, and he refused to ordain him. And desired Mr. Newman to acquaint the gentlemen, that he never would appoint a person who was "disagreeable to the people in general ; but a good man, of a catholick temper and loyal to the government." He had his eye upon Mr. Price, but *he* preferred going to Boston. The Bishop of London read the letter to the late Governour Shute, and inquired of him concerning the state of New-England, who confirmed all which had been written.

John Checkley was afterwards ordained by the Bishop of Exeter, and was sent to Narraganset.

people of the town were fond of him, and kind to him, and made him presents as though he had been their minister. The last time he was abroad he had some conversation with the ministers of the town, which manifested his catholick and christian spirit. He died after a sickness of a few days, and the Congregational ministers were among his pall-bearers."

Mr. Weeks succeeded him; "a virtuous, sweet tempered, learned gentleman."

For several years after the revolution, the church was destitute. Mr. Thomas Oliver was then invited to settle with them, who removed to Providence, and was succeeded by Mr. William Harris, the preceptor of the academy. Both these gentlemen were educated at Harvard College. Mr. Harris is now a respectable minister in the state of New-York.

He was succeeded in the church in Marblehead, by Mr. James Bowers, who was graduated at Cambridge, A. D. 1794; and when the Episcopal convention met in Boston, May 25th, of the present year, was ordained in *Trinity Church*, by the hands of the Rev. Bishop Bass: the assistant minister of the church, the Rev. John Gardiner, preached upon the occasion.

Beside the places for publick worship already mentioned, a number of the inhabitants of Marblehead erected a meeting-house, in 1789, for those "whose *opinions* differed from the *opinions* of their neighbours."

In the year 1800, a meeting-house was built for the *Methodists*.

The people of various denominations live together in harmony. May they have no other emulations but to provoke unto love and good works!

*Boston, December 10th,* 1802.

P. S.—In compiling the above, a free use has been made of newspapers, sermons, and a large manuscript, written by the late venerable Barnard. But we are greatly indebted to the *Topographical Account*, published in the Salem Register the last year, written by Isaac Mansfield, Esq. and have also received many documents from the papers and manuscripts, which, by the kindness of that gentleman, have been handed to the Society.

## Bill of Mortality of the town of Middleborough, from the year 1779 to 1801.

*Middleborough, 7th March*, 1802.

Rev. Sir,

AFTER complimenting you with my sincere regards, &c. agreeably to my promise to you, I hereby inform, that the deaths in the first precinct in Middleborough (which contains about fourteen or fifteen hundred persons) since the beginning of the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, are as followeth, viz.

| Date. | Over 90. | Between 70 & 90. | Between 50 & 70. | Between 20 & 50. | Under 20. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1779 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| 1780 | | 1 | 4 | 3 | 5 |
| 1781 | 1 | 5 | 9 | 3 | 9 |
| 1782 | 1 | 6 | 4 | 1 | 19 |
| 1783 | | 4 | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| 1784 | 1 | 5 | 3 | | 19 |
| 1785 | 1 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 10 |
| 1786 | | 5 | 3 | 4 | 10 |
| 1787 | | 7 | 3 | 2 | 11 |
| 1788 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 3 | 9 |
| 1789 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 5 | 10 |
| 1790 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 5 | 11 |
| 1791 | | 7 | 1 | 4 | 11 |
| 1792 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 9 |
| 1793 | 1 | 5 | | 2 | 7 |
| 1794 | 2 | 7 | 3 | 4 | 1 |
| 1795 | 1 | 8 | 3 | 1 | 7 |
| 1796 | | 5 | 2 | 5 | 10 |
| 1797 | | 3 | 1 | 3 | 9 |
| 1798 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 6 |
| 1799 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| 1800 | | 5 | 6 | 12 | 8 |
| 1801 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 4 |

Which is submitted for the benefit of the Historical Society, from your's in sincerity,

ISAAC THOMPSON.

*Rev. John Eliot, D. D.*

## Biographical Notices of Marston Watson, Esq. Member of the Historical Society.

MR. WATSON was a descendant from one of the branches of an ancient and respectable family, in the town of Plymouth. He was born, May 25th, 1756. After receiving an excellent school education, and being qualified for admission into the university, he was, at the age of fourteen, placed an apprentice with Colonel Jeremiah Lee, then an eminent merchant at Marblehead. Upon the death of Colonel Lee, in 1775, Mr. Watson resumed his classick studies, with an intention of entering College, in advance, and had actually made arrangements, at Cambridge, for that purpose; but the revolutionary war having then commenced, and Colonel Glover offering him a lieutenancy in his own regiment, Mr. Watson, reluctantly abandoning his literary pursuits, accepted the commission, and in the month of December, 1776, was actively engaged in the battles of *Trenton* and *Princeton*, in which Glover's regiment bore a distinguished share. He was particularly patronized by General Charles Lee, and acted as his temporary *aid-de-camp*. General Lee had made arrangements for his permanent establishment in that office, and he served in that capacity at the battle of Monmouth. But upon the suspension of General Lee, his hopes of immediate promotion being checked, he relinquished the army and engaged in commerce. His activity and industry were prospered. He married in 1779, and established himself at Marblehead. In 1790, he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Marblehead regiment, and in about three years afterwards, was Lieutenant-Colonel commandant. In 1794, when eighty thousand of the militia of the United States were provisionally detached, under the apprehensions of a rupture with Great-Britain, Colonel Watson was selected to command a regiment detached from the division to which he belonged.

In the year 1792, he represented the town of Marblehead in the General Court.

In May, 1797, he removed from Marblehead to Boston, where

where his extensive commercial concerns could be more conveniently and advantageously conducted.

In this situation, he greatly extended his business and connexions, and, in the midst of a community where the able and intelligent merchant is sure to be duly estimated, he was highly respected. His residence in the town was considered as a publick benefit, and the prosperity which attended his commercial pursuits was regarded with complacence, as the just reward of strict integrity,* unblemished honour, and well directed exertion. To great industry and application to business, he united the virtues which adorn and elevate the human character. He was hospitable, beneficent, publick spirited, friendly, and sincere. In his domestick relations the deep sensibilities of his afflicted family and friends, afford affecting evidence of his tenderness and worth.

The busy engagements of active life, never extinguished that attachment to letters, to which he was prompted by the native bent of his mind and by early education. All the leisure he could command, was devoted to mental improvement and attentions to the education of a numerous family. The Massachusetts Historical Society, from a conviction of his literary attainments, and his regard to the objects of their institution, elected him a member of their Society, April 29th, 1800.

He died August 7th, 1800, after a short illness, in the 45th year of his age. *d. j. d.*

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* An honourable instance of this gentleman's scrupulous regard to justice deserves to be recorded. About seven years before his removal to *Boston*, a deranged state of his affairs, the effect of mere misfortune, rendered it necessary for him to seek a composition with his creditors, who gave him a discharge, receiving only a portion of their demands. In a few years afterwards, when his renewed exertions were blessed with success, his first care was to pay those creditors in full, though they had no legal demand against him.

## Sketch of the Life and Character of Thomas Brattle, Esquire, Member of the Historical Society.

THOMAS BRATTLE, Esquire, was born at Cambridge, February 11th, 1742. He was the son of the Honourable William Brattle, Esquire, and grandson of the Reverend William Brattle,* who was an eminent and highly respected minister in that town. His mother was the daughter of Gurdon Saltonstall, Esquire, who was, in early life, minister of New-London, in Connecticut, and afterwards, for many years, Governour of that Colony.

Mr. Brattle received his education at Harvard College, the honours of which were conferred in 1760 and 1763. He afterwards received the degree of A. M. at Yale and Nassau.

The mercantile life was the object of his early choice; in which line he was employed several years, in Boston.

In 1775, war commencing, and commercial business being suspended, he executed a design, which he had, for years, contemplated. He went to England, carrying with him an ample testimonial of his patriotism, from the Committee of Inspection and Correspondence in Boston. After spending a considerable time in visiting the several parts of Great-Britain, he made a tour through Holland and the Netherlands into France. Americans, and the friends of his country, were his friends. Accordingly, he was honourably noticed by the first diplomatick characters, as well as other gentlemen of distinction. Having gratified his curiosity, in viewing and examining the various objects in those countries, demanding the attention of the inquisitive, he returned from Paris to London.

Finding, on his arrival, many of his countrymen confined in prisons, he generously exerted himself to procure them relief, and contribute to their comfort. These benevolent exertions not only attracted the notice, and conciliated the affections, of similar characters in England; but

* See his character, in the Collections of the Historical Society, for the year 1800, p. 55.

but pleaded effectually against some suspicions of his patriotism, which had been excited during his absence, and which he found himself obliged to combat after his return to his native country. For though possessed of a disposition calculated to render him happy as a citizen of the world, and though enjoyment equalled expectation, his attachment to his native land was not diminished. He returned in 1779. Landing at Rhode-Island, and residing there while it was a station for a large body of French troops, he rendered them such signal services, that they were announced to the royal ear. The French king's sentiments of their importance, and of the benevolence of their author, were, by his order, conveyed, in a very polite letter from his minister in the United States, to Mr. Brattle.

In 1784, the obstacles to his return into his native state being surmounted, he took possession of his patrimony. This he assiduously improved and embellished; and, by his urbanity and hospitality, rendered a pleasing resort both of friends and strangers. Horticulture was his favourite pursuit. He superintended all his plans for amelioration. These were not confined to his own property, but extended to the roads, walks, publick buildings, and conveniences in his vicinity. His last labour of this kind was employed in directing and superintending the construction of a bathing place in Charles river—erected especially with a view to preserve the lives of the students of the University, to a number of whom, at different periods, that river had proved fatal.

Mr. Brattle's taste and judgment were frequently consulted, and their effects became subjects of the warmest approbation. His humanity and charity gave employment to the labourer; cordials to the sick; and relief to the distressed. He was honoured as a man of science, as well as humanity, by being elected a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, of the Historical, the Agricultural, and the Humane Societies.

For several years before his death, his health visibly declined. In December, 1800, an incipient mortification made its appearance in one of his feet, which baffled the art of the best physicians. He foresaw, and met with the utmost

utmost calmness, his approaching dissolution. On the 7th of February following, he expired; and on the 11th his remains were respectfully entombed.

The following summary character, drawn by a gentleman,* who had long been in habits of intimacy with Mr. Brattle, was published in the Columbian Centinel of February 11th, 1801.

"Major Brattle was one of those men, who prudently choose the middle way of life. His family connexion, which is of ancient respectability, and his fortune, which was ample, afforded him the advantage of describing his own sphere of life. A correct judgment, founded in a good natural understanding, and a liberal education led him to avoid extending it beyond what he could fill with propriety. This cautious mode of conduct assured to him the approbation of those, who knew him. Without vainly attempting things beyond his reach, he studied to improve the talents committed to his charge, and, by a perfect acquaintance with them, rendered himself peculiarly useful to society and agreeable to his friends. His reading and travel enabled him to place a just estimate on the world.

"Major Brattle exercised a deep reverence to the principles of government, and was a cheerful subject of the laws. He respected men of science as the richest ornament of their country. If he had ambition, it was to excel in acts of hospitality, benevolence, and charity.

"The dazzling splendour of heroes, and the achievements of political intrigue, passed unnoticed before him; but the character of the man of benevolence filled his heart with emotions of sympathy.

"When he was in Europe, in the time of the late war, his assiduous liberality, in relieving the distresses of his countrymen, who were prisoners, drew upon him the attention of many good men. As a compliment to his feelings, exhibited on that occasion, a fine piece of painting was presented to him, the picture of the "Man of Ross," celebrated by Mr. Pope,

> "Behold the market-place with poor o'erspread,
> The Man of Ross supplies the daily bread."

The

* Hon. James Sullivan, Esq.

The lineaments of charity on that face were ever contemplated by the Major with peculiar delight. He loved agriculture and gardening, because in those he rendered himself useful to his country. His table was filled with the best viands, and his side-board with the choicest wines—This was a luxury to him, because his friends enjoyed it:—he was moderate, and latterly abstemious himself. In his death, the sick, the poor, and the distressed, have lost a liberal benefactor; politeness an ornament; and philanthropy one of its most discreet and generous supporters. Major Brattle's life, as to morals, was irreproachable; he revered the religion of the bible, and frequently honoured his character by appealing to its precepts as the rule of his religion." *g. m.*

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## Notice of Ezekiel Price, Esquire, Member of the Historical Society.

BEFORE the revolution Mr. Price was the confidential secretary of several of the governours of the province. Soon after independence was declared, he was appointed clerk of the courts of common pleas and sessions for the county of Suffolk; in which services, as well as those of notary publick and magistrate, he remained twenty years. He was also, for a long time, chairman of the board of selectmen for the town of Boston. And in these, and many other stations, he acted his part well in society; until that decay, which so often attends the age of threescore years and ten, made it necessary for him to retire to his family. In private life he was amiable, as in publick he was useful. April 30th, 1793, he was elected a member of the Historical Society, to which he was a liberal benefactor. He died July 15th, 1802, aged seventy-four years. *j. t. d.*

## Character of the Hon. George Richards Minot, Esq. Judge of Probate in the County of Suffolk, and Judge of the Municipal Court in Boston: extracted from an Elogy delivered a few days after his death.

As the virtues of George Richards Minot were the fruits of early cultivation, in delineating his character, it is necessary to begin with the period of infancy. The youngest child of respectable parents, and descended from a line of honourable ancestors*, he was born under auspicious circumstances†. That peculiar tenderness, with which the youngest child is treated in affectionate families‡, he was so happy as to experience. From the beginning he was an object, who employed the care and engaged the hearts of his numerous relatives. On a mind naturally good kindness has the best effects. Though it is confessed that many infants have been injured by improper indulgence, yet others have been ruined by vexations and undue severity. The love, which he received from all who surrounded him, early moulded his heart to that benevolence, which formed so distinguishing a part of his character during every period of his life.

In the ninth year of his age§ he was admitted into the South Latin school in Boston, at that time under the superintendance of Mr. Lovell, a gentleman of classical knowledge and exquisite taste. As I was always convinced that this eminent instructer had a large share in forming the character of my friend, I enjoy a melancholy satisfaction in mentioning his name, and in paying the tribute of grateful respect to his memory.

In this seminary young Minot was soon distinguished for his diligence in study, his kindness to his school fellows, and his respect to the masters. There were contracted his earliest friendships, which by him were not forgotten

* See Note I. at the end of this article.

† Born in Boston, Dec. 22d. 1758, the youngest of ten children.

‡ See Note II.

§ July, 1767.

forgotten till the last moment of his life. Long before his literary course was completed, he was known to be the favourite pupil of his instructer, though no boy felt any envy on that account, convinced of his superiour claims to distinction.

This notice naturally led him to be watchful in his conduct, that he might not lose that esteem, which he had so happily obtained. Discretion marked his whole deportment; and even at that age there was a decorum, and I may almost say, a dignity, in his behaviour, which was uncommon for his years.

When the important moment approached, in which he was to leave school, he was not only called upon by his master to compose his own oration, a task which, I believe, is expected seldom or never to be executed by a boy himself, and which he actually performed, but he was also enjoined to assist more than one of his classmates in the same work.

These circumstances, which I dwell on, because I suppose that they are not now generally known, contributed to form his character; and there were also several other causes, which conduced to the same end. Among these might be particularly mentioned the good fortune of possessing a father of a liberal education, who attended in part to his instruction at home; and who allowing no more moments for recreation, than those which were absolutely necessary for the preservation of his health, kept him constantly employed the rest of his time either in study or business;—the mild and affectionate demeanour of an excellent mother, who cultivated with assiduity his amiable heart:—but above all, the example of an elder brother, Francis Minot, a gentleman of great purity and elevation of sentiment. This model of every thing which was worthy was constantly before his eyes; and his highest ambition was to copy into his own character those traits, which rendered his brother the object of the veneration and love of all who knew him. Greatly would it have contributed to his peace of mind, if he had not been deprived of this brother at an early age*. But death had not power to destroy the effect of the example; for whilst with

* Francis Minot died Dec. 1774, aged 28.

with fondness he cherished the remembrance of departed virtue, its image was constantly present to his heart, to inspire him with fortitude amidst temptation.

By these and other causes, the character of young Minot was in a great measure established even before he left school. He had already acquired the habits of diligence and sobriety, of benevolence to his equals, and respect to his superiours, of the love of learning, of self command, and of magnanimity of sentiment. The principal enemy, which he had to contend with, was a temper by nature irascible. This part of his mental constitution was known to few of his friends; perhaps to none of them, except from his own confession; for before this period the enemy was subdued; and the ardour, which was still left in his mind, served only to give warmth to his heart and fire to his genius.

The youth of Mr. Minot commenced with his admission into college*; and his conduct there was a continuation of the same virtues, which he had practised at school. The love of learning, graceful modesty, amiable manners, and goodness of heart still distinguished him. He now began to cultivate those branches of literature, which were his favourite pursuits during the rest of his life; history and belles lettres. To these objects he devoted a great portion of his time, reading with uncommon care and diligence the best authors that he could procure. By this study his mind was stored with historical facts, and his taste and style were gradually formed.—The two authors, who were his most admired models, were the celebrated Robertson, and Burke in the historical part of the Annual Register.

But from no source whatever did he derive more advantage in the cultivation of his talents, than from the conversation of several young men, at that time members of the University, who even then gave presages of future eminence, and now in manhood occupy some of the most important stations in society. These generous youths courted his acquaintance; and several of them formed with him those firm bonds of friendship, which death itself has not power to loosen.

Thus

* At Cambridge, July, 1774.

Thus happy in the affection of his equals, he was not less esteemed by the governours of the university. The college was at that time favoured with several instructers, who were beloved by the students in general. Of one of them, the enlightened Wadsworth, I may speak without reserve. He was a man of eminent talents, of clear conceptions, a perspicacious reasoner, fluent in speech, and above all, mild in the exercise of authority. In the midst of his usefulness he was snatched from the university by a fatal disease*. The bosoms of the students were filled with consternation. "What honours shall we pay to the memory of so beloved a tutor?" They address the governours of the college:—"Do not, by appointing one of your own body, deprive us of the melancholy pleasure of pronouncing his panegyrick. Let one of our number be the organ of the rest, and speak the grateful sentiments of our hearts." The request was granted; and Mr. Minot was selected to deliver the funeral oration. With what pathos and eloquence he performed the duty, his contemporaries well remember. They never can forget his impassioned tones, the deep sorrow which clouded his own brow, and the grief which filled the breasts of all his hearers. This oration established his reputation; and henceforward his classmates were eager to confer on him every honour, which it was in their power to bestow.

Upon leaving college†, he entered on the study of the law under a gentleman‡, for whom he had a high esteem and friendship, which were warmly returned. In the office of this respected master he enjoyed a peculiar advantage, the nature of which I cannot with delicacy particularly point out, though it will be understood by many of my auditors. I will only say in a word, that his own genius caught fire from the flame, which burned so intensely in the imagination of his friend; and that he then predicted the splendid reputation, which this friend would in future acquire.

His legal studies were completed not long after the time, in

* See Note III.

† July, 1788.

‡ Hon. William Tudor, treasurer of the Historical Society.

in which he took his second degree. The university, which had been depressed by war, was beginning to revive; and publick commencements, which had been discontinued during several years, were again introduced. On this occasion he was appointed* to deliver the valedictory oration; a part which is usually assigned to the best scholars, to scholars, who are not only eloquent, but learned. The brilliancy of his diction in this performance, his speaking eye, the dignity of his air, and his graceful gestures, are still impressed on the memories of those who were present.

He was now leaving the period of youth, and entering on that of manhood; and he was introduced on this third stage of life with the reputation of a correct and elegant scholar, a polished gentleman, a man of purity, benevolence, and religion. The most important part of his existence had passed, in which he had established his character, fixed his principles, and formed his habits. What for the future principally remained for him, was to gather the fruits of his labours; to cultivate the flowers of classical literature, which he had with such assiduity and success planted in his mind; to benefit his fellow citizens by his exertions; and to enjoy the society of those friends, whose hearts he had gained by his talents and virtues.

The path, which was obviously pointed out to him, when he entered on the theatre of the world, was to practise in that useful and liberal profession, the rudiments of which he had spent several years in studying. But a circumstance, which may be regarded as beneficial to the publick, and which eventually proved fortunate to himself, prevented him from devoting to it his whole attention. The new constitution of Massachusetts had just begun its operation; and there was wanted for the house of representatives a clerk, who would do honour to a place, which under the provincial government had frequently been occupied by men of celebrity and talents. He was appointed to the office†; and with his accustomed prudence accepted it thankfully. With what propriety, fidelity, and impartiality, he discharged the obligations which he had taken on

* July, 1781.

† In the year 1781.

on him, is well known to all the members of the legislature, particularly to the able speakers, who presided in the house during that period. The records were kept with remarkable care ; and through the obliging assistance afforded by him to several worthy gentlemen, who, from the want of education, were not able to express their ideas in proper terms, a precision and neatness marked many of the votes and resolves, in which his accurate pen could be easily traced. I mention this without hesitation, because it has been often gratefully acknowledged by those who received his aid.

Being clerk of the representatives at the time, when the causes which finally produced the insurrection were operating, he had an opportunity of being well acquainted with the debates and proceedings of the house, which were uncommonly interesting to the publick. Of these transactions he undertook to write a sketch, which was communicated through the channel of the Boston Magazine*, and continued as long as that miscellany was kept alive. In this production, which was universally applauded for its correctness and impartiality, he is generally supposed to have happily imitated the style, which he so much admired.

At length, when the insurrection had distracted the heads and embittered the hearts of a portion of the people; and had been successfully quelled by the patriotism and fortitude of a majority of the citizens, he planned and executed a work of still greater importance : a faithful history of the whole transaction. By this composition, which was equally praised for its truth, moderation, lucid order, and elegance of language, he became entitled to a high rank among the American authors†.

The insurrection of Massachusetts was one of the causes, which led to the formation of the constitution of the United States. Of the convention, which was chosen to consider it in this commonwealth, he was appointed the secretary. In this situation he gained many new friends, and his character and talents were further made known to the public.

When

* For 1784 and 1785.

† See Note IV.

When therefore, in the course of years, the office of judge of probate for the county of Suffolk became vacant, all eyes were fixed on him as the proper person to succeed to that important station; and to the universal joy of his fellow citizens, he was nominated by the governour and approved by the council*. Faithful and impartial, upright, patient, and humane, Judge Minot had now gained the place for which his Maker had formed him.

The other publick offices conferred on him are so recent in the remembrance of those who hear me, that they need not be particularly mentioned. Should I attempt to describe the manner in which he sustained them, I should only repeat the encomiums which have already been bestowed on the dignity of his deportment, his wisdom, his integrity, and philanthropy†.

Amidst his numerous publick avocations, he found time to search into the archives of his country, and to write a history of Massachusetts, beginning at the period where Hutchinson leaves it‡. Of this interesting work one volume has already been presented to the world; and a second volume would have been completed, if the health and life of the author had been spared one month longer. It is hoped, that, from want of encouragement of the patrons of literature, the part which he had finished will not be lost to the publick.

Whilst he thus devoted his time and talents to the service of his fellow citizens, their grateful approbation attended his steps. Literary institutions imparted to him the honours of their fellowship‖; philanthropick incorporations bestowed on him the marks of their esteem. Of the Charitable Fire Society he was elected the president; and from the commencement of that useful association, he was one of the most active springs, which put in motion its benevolent operations. Its respected members with warm affection lament his death; fondly do they cherish

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* Jan. 1792.

† See two characters of Judge Minot, published in the Boston newspapers soon after his decease; one by his master, Judge Tudor; the other by his young friend and pupil, Mr. Charles P. Sumner.

‡ See Note V.

‖ See Note VI.

cherish the remembrance of the mild dignity, with which he presided in their meetings; and deeply impressed on their hearts are the precepts of benevolence, which with so much pathos and eloquence he taught them in his admired Address*.

His fellow citizens in general, on more than one occasion, testified the confidence which they felt in his abilities and moderation. He was the man, on whom the eyes of all parties were fixed, to express that grief, with which the hearts of all parties were pierced, by the death of the beloved Washington†. As the virtuous, however differing in rank and external acts, belong to the same family, and a kindred likeness may be traced in the features of their minds, in delineating the character of the first of men, he could not avoid describing in part his own correct example. The resemblance is so striking, that it has been perceived by many.

But fame and publick confidence were not the only rewards of his merit. Through the liberal and grateful aid of the government and his fellow citizens, prosperity smiled on him. This enlarged his power of doing good and of communicating pleasure. His friends were welcomed with ardour to his hospitable board; and his bounty flowed in copious streams on those who asked or needed his assistance.

Such was the life, such the honours, and such the prosperity of Judge Minot. You love the man, who excelled in so many virtues; and you rejoice in the favours with which heaven visited his mansion. Will you permit me to make him still farther known to you; and to delineate parts of his character, which have not already been painted? It is not my intention to exhaust the subject: others of his friends are eager to praise him; and I ought to leave untouched topicks of encomium, on which they can enlarge‡. I shall suppress therefore the greatest part of the thoughts, which crowd on my mind.

The understanding of Judge Minot possessed an astonishing variety. Those who were acquainted with him the longest

* Delivered before the Society May 29th. 1795.
† See Note VII.
‡ See Note XII.

longest can say, that there was always a novelty in his conversation, either as to substance or form. This arose from his great industry and inquisitiveness; in consequence of which he was always learning. When visited by his friends, he appeared to express his best ideas in his best manner. But before there was an opportunity of seeing him again, he had obtained the knowledge of a new fact, or had acquired a new grace of expression. This, in addition to the sprightly sallies which frequently burst from his lips, the benignity, the gentle radiance, the mind and character, which shone in his face, rendered him a most interesting and pleasant companion.

In his company every one felt himself at perfect ease; and fancied himself wiser, not only from what he learned at the moment, but also from the stores of information treasured up in his own mind, and of the possession of which he was before hardly conscious. For our friend had the happy talent of uncovering the knowledge which was veiled by diffidence, and of drawing out in appropriate language the conceptions of those, who, from want of use, had not learned the art, either of speaking, or of speaking in proper terms. This rendered him the delight of ingenuous young men, who oftentimes have this defect, and on that account miss the reputation, to which they are entitled by their science and talents.

In judging of his own powers, his opinion was guided by modesty*; but he possessed none of that bashfulness, which quenches emulation, and annihilates exertion. He doubted whether he was capable of some things, for which his friends thought him well qualified; but he yielded to their persuasions, and made the attempt; and he generally succeeded better than his fears had anticipated†. Without sitting still and idly wishing for fame, he entered the career of glory, and ran for the prize, assured that if he missed it, he at least deserved applause for his well directed labours.

In judging of the characters and abilities of others he was eminently candid. His opinion was, that few men are so vitious, as not to possess some good quality; or so ignorant

* See Note VIII.

† See Note VII.

ignorant, as not to have acquired some valuable branch of science. For these he praised them; but never for talents and virtues to which they had no title. He was candid; but abhorrent to his feelings was that counterfeit candour, which applauds equally the saint and the sinner: he has often been heard to speak with pointed indignation against the artful and dishonest, particularly against false patriots and political impostors.

As a politician, his moderation is well known, and has often been the subject of encomium. He wished well to both the parties into which the state is divided: both parties would have been happy to have called him their own*: but as he never concealed or disguised his sentiments, it is certain that he belonged to one only. Without denominating it by the exclusive and honourable title of *federal*, it will be accurately described by saying, that it was the party of which the respected Bowdoin was the head; which placed in the chair of government the much lamented Sumner; and which approved the administration of the late president of the United States. I ascribe no merit to him for his opinions; but for his firmness and independence of spirit, he deserved the highest applause.

He was as candid, zealous, and honest in his religious as in his political opinions. On all proper occasions he openly declared what he believed; but the truth is, that he laid little stress on the dogmas of any particular sect†, paying more attention to the duties than the speculations of christians. Humble‡ and devout, he loved God, and trusted entirely to his mercy for salvation. He complied with all the rites and ordinances of christianity; and though he was persuaded that these practices are not the most essential parts of religion; yet he felt it to be his duty publickly to manifest before all who observed his conduct, that he was not ashamed of the gospel of Christ.

In private and domestick life his conduct was exhibited to great advantage. At an early age he was united to the woman whom he loved; and he loved her as long as consciousness

* See Note IX.
† See Note X.
‡ See Note XI.

conciousness remained. Satisfied with the warmth of her affection, and with the respect and tenderness of his own and his adopted children, his happiest hours were passed in the bosom of his family. There was he often seen, by the friends who were admitted to join the harmonious circle, smiling with complacence on all around him, and imparting delight to every breast.

Should I more particularly describe these endearing scenes, I should only aggravate that sorrow, which it is my desire to soften. For never more will his wife, his children*, his venerable parent†, his fond brothers, his disconsolate nephew, his grateful nieces, behold his benign face; never more will they listen to his voice of love: "cold he now lies in the grave below" ‡; his warm heart has ceased to beat §; and all their joys are remembered as a dream. *r. s.*

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## NOTES.

### Note I.

The first ancestor of Judge Minot, who came to New England, was George Minot, son to Thomas Minot, Esquire, of Saffron Walden in Essex. He was one of the first settlers of Dorchester, and ruling elder of the church thirty years. He died Dec. 24th. 1671, in the 78th. year of his age, "much lamented by a town, whose weal he sought and liberties defended."

His father, Stephen Minot, great great grandson of George Minot, was a gentleman of education, liberal principles, and exemplary character. He died in Boston, Jan. 14th. 1787, aged 75 years.

His mother, Sarah, only daughter of Jonas Clarke, Esquire, of Boston, died, "happy in the reflection of an amiable and virtuous life," Jan. 10th. 1783, in the 64th. year of her age.

His intermediate ancestors were gentlemen of respectable characters.

Note

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* Judge Minot left two children, a son and a daughter.

† Mrs. Speakman, the mother of Mrs. Minot.

‡ Chatterton.

§ Judge Minot died Jan. 2d. 1802, and was buried the 6th.

## Note II.

The Indians of New England had, to express this relation, an appropriate word, which in the dialect of the Nauset Indians was *taushents*. It has been adopted by the descendants of the English in many parts of the Old Colony of Plymouth, and is applied as a term of endearment to the youngest child.

## Note III.

In the present year, 1802, a monument has been erected to the memory of Mr. Wadsworth by a few contemporary friends, who loved and honoured his character, and several pupils, who enjoyed at the university the benefit of his instructions. On this monument is the following inscription.

Huic tumulo mandantur exuviæ
JOHANNIS WADSWORTH A. M.
Duxburgiæ nati,
Collegii Harvardini Alumni,
Cujus
Septem per annos
Fideliter, utilissimèque
Tutoris officium præstitit ;
Et modo aptissimo, facillimo, gratissimoque,
Optimis præceptis ac institutis
Juvenum animos imbuit,
Moresque ipsorum amicè ac sedulò curavit.
Hujus temporis tres per annos et ultrà
Senatus Academici Socii munera peritè explevit.
Ingenio sagaci et acutissimo
Literis scientiisque penitùs instructo,
Etiam facilitate mira sententias impertiendi
Omnium observantiam in sese attraxit.
Amicitia ingenua atque constanti,
Et consuetudinis suavitate facetiisque,
Amor ac deliciæ fuit amicorum.
Inter alias virtutes,
Pietas erga Parentes et affectio Fraterna
Præcipuè fuerunt insignes.
Viri tam boni ac utilis, omnibusque cari,
In ætatem senectam spes vitam produxerat.
Ah !

Ah spes inanis !
Variolis (illo generis humani flagello) correptus,
Animam efflavit
Die Julii 12^mo^ Anno Salutis MDCCLXXVII
Ætatisque suæ XXXVII.

## Note IV.

Since the elogy was delivered, the author has had an opportunity of perusing Judge Minot's manuscripts. Among others he finds a private journal, which was begun, discontinued, and resumed. In these notes nearly of the whole of it will be given. The following extract relates to the History of the Insurrections.

"The opinions respecting my History of the Insurrections have been very favourable. If any thing could lessen the pleasure arising from this circumstance, it is the surprise of many judicious persons at my performing it so well. 'It is well done, as I expected it would be,' is a much more flattering approbation, than, 'I am astonished—who could have thought that *he* could have done it so well?' We do not love to think that we once stood in an inferiour light, however elevated we may now be, in the opinion of our friends.

"Mr. —— thinks I have extricated myself very well from the danger of incurring the resentment of the jarring administrations, which any improper comparison between them, or decisive eulogium of either, would have inevitably drawn upon me. He thinks that there are secrets respecting the mode, in which the last orders to General Lincoln were procured from the Council, which ought to be told at a future day: but Governour Bowdoin knows nothing of these.

"I showed the History to the principal actors in the suppression of the insurrections, in order that they might object to any thing relative to their conduct, before it appeared in print. On this occasion I observed to General Lincoln, that I ought to insert the name of ——, which at that time was not introduced, at some convenient place, as well as the name of Governour Bowdoin, which was subscribed to his orders. The General replied, 'Yes;' and taking up the manuscript, 'You may insert it

it here, or here, or, in short, any where, just as they mark down *snow* in an almanack.

"I sent a copy of the History to General Washington with the following letter.

"Sir,

Permit me to offer for your perusal a copy of the History of the late Insurrections in Massachusetts. The share, which you had in the great and glorious events of America, must interest your feelings in all subsequent transactions; and I hope that this little narrative will not be unacceptable to you, as a continuance of information upon the important subject of domestick history.

"The difficulty of publishing facts on the spot where they happen, and under the view of the actors, will readily occur, and must be my apology with you, in reading the book. If this circumstance, however, has had influence in checking the remarks of the writer, I hope it has had none in the relating of the events, which is the part wherein the publick are most concerned.

"General Lincoln has kindly offered to introduce my production to your notice; and my confidence in the goodness of your character has led me to anticipate a favorable reception to an effort, which was dictated by a love of truth, and a wish to preserve the reputation of my country.

"With the highest respect, I am, Sir, &c.

Boston, 7. Aug. 1788.

"This letter was delivered with the book to General Lincoln, who forwarded it with a letter, which I did not see; and I received the following answer.

"Mount Vernon, Aug. 28. 1788.

"Sir,

Your favour of the 7th. of this month has been duly received; and I lose no time before I acknowledge the obligations under which you have placed me, by offering a copy of your History as a present. Aside of the honourable testimony of my friend General Lincoln, the intrinsick

sick merit of the work (so far as I am able to form a judgment from its perspicuity and impartiality) carries a sufficient recommendation to ensure a favourable reception.

"The series of events, which followed from the conclusion of the war, forms a link of no ordinary magnitude in the chain of the American annals. That portion of domestick history, which you have selected for your narrative, deserved particularly to be discussed, and set in its proper point of light, while materials for the purpose were attainable. Nor was it unbecoming or unimportant to enlighten the Europeans, who seem to have been extremely ignorant with regard to these transactions. While I comprehend fully the difficulty of stating facts on the spot, amidst the living actors and recent animosities, I approve the more cordially that candour, with which you appear to have done it.

"I will only add that I always feel a singular satisfaction in discovering proofs of talents and patriotism, in those who are soon to take the parts of the generation, which is now hastening to leave the stage; and that with wishes for your prosperity, I remain,

Sir,

y^r^ most obed^t^ & very hble serv^t^.

G^o^ Washington."

## Note V.

"Copy of my letter to President Adams with my first volume of the continuation of the history of Massachusetts Bay.

Boston. 9th. Feb. 1798.

"Sir,

The enclosed volume of a continuation of Massachusetts history is introduced more abruptly to your notice, than I intended it should have been. The dedication, being official, is less the subject of apology on this account, than the matter itself, of which your knowledge is so great, that I flattered myself with an opportunity of opening my design to you in person, previous to my publication. That I did not do this certainly was not owing to any difficulty of access on your part, and was rather owing to a misfortune

misfortune than a fault in mine. After settling with my friend, Dr. Welsh, the best manner of doing it, an accidental deviation from a visit, which we understood you proposed in town, frustrated my intention at that time; and unavoidable avocations afterwards prevented my going to Quincy until your departure.

"I beg your acceptance of this copy. The nature of the subject may induce you to read it even amidst the many affairs of importance, which your high office throws upon your attention. If, after a perusal, you shall judge it not devoid of merit, I have to request, that in case there are any documents lying by you, not destined for some happier use, I may be favoured with a view of them, to enable me to correct any errours that may have arisen, and to assist my future progress. I am, Sir, &c.

"Answer of the President of the United States to my letter of the 9th of Feb. 1798.

Philadelphia, Feb. 28. 1798.

"Sir,

I have received your kind letter of the 9th. of this month, with its elegant companion, the first volume of your Continuation of the History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay from the year 1748. For this valuable present I pray you to accept my thanks.

"I have read the work with great pleasure. The style of it is a model of historical eloquence: the narration is very perspicuous; and the matter only such as becomes the dignity of history.

"I should have been happy to have received you at Quincy last fall, and shall be very glad to see you at any other time: but I have no hope of giving you much assistance in your literary researches. My life has been that of a bird, too volatile to have collected information of much consequence to your purpose.

"I hope you will pursue the subject onwards: and look back too to the beginning of our history. I am not satisfied with Hutchinson, though his work is valuable. Annals too I should think preferable to history, and minuter details

details even of the Indian wars, than have hitherto been published in print.

" With great and sincere esteem, I am, &c.

John Adams." *Journal.*

## Note VI.

The Historical Society was planned by Drs. Belknap, Thacher, and Eliot, and Judge Winthrop and Judge Tudor. These gentlemen associated with them five others, of whom Judge Minot was one. The whole met together and organized the Society. From the beginning Mr. Minot was an active and useful member ; and though he wrote nothing, yet many valuable papers were with much pains collected by him, and published in the Society's volumes.

## Note VII.

" 1800. January. I was suddenly alarmed by a visit from three members of the Committee of arrangements for the ceremonies on General Washington's death.— Their business was to inform me of my being appointed to deliver an eulogy on that occasion before the inhabitants of Boston. I was sick, dejected, and so weak as convinced me, that I could neither compose nor deliver the work requested. I begged their excuse with as much fervour as a criminal would beg the remission of his sentence. I obtained only a reprieve until the afternoon, when I determined to bring my physician [Dr. Dexter] to my aid. His opinion of my ill-health availed nothing : I was forced to accept. They gave me ten days to prepare myself. What were my feelings in this short time ? My only refuge was in an enthusiastick pursuit of my subject, which stimulated what little powers I possessed to their utmost exertion. A candour and mild expectation prevailed through all ranks of people, which encouraged me. A like kind of attentive silence enabled me to deliver myself so as to be heard. I sat down, unconscious of the effect, feeling as though the musick was at once playing the dirge of Washington's memory and my own literary reputation. I was soon astonished at my good fortune : all praised me : a whole

a whole edition of my Eulogy sold in a day. The printers presented me with an additional number of copies on account of their success. Invitations are sent me to dine in respectable companies. My friends are delighted; and although nearly exhausted by sickness, I am happy. Such was the successful issue of the most unpropitious undertaking that I ever engaged in." *Journal.*

## Note VIII.

"In the month of August, 1796, I was appointed to act as State's Attorney for the county of Suffolk, the Attorney General being absent upon the business of the boundary river, St. Croix. A number of disagreeable events, which I shall ever recollect with the greatest pain, concurred at this time to disqualify me for the task; which I felt conscious of, but could not well decline it. A prepossession that one will do ill never fails to verify our fears; and accordingly I did ill enough; of which I had a due sense, and made suitable acknowledgments to my evil genius. Whilst I was in the paroxism of my mortification, Mr. Sharpless, an ingenious portrait painter, sent me a note, acquainting me, that he was making a collection of portraits of the most eminent and publick characters in the United States; and requested to know when it would be convenient for me to sit to him. I really thought so meanly of myself, that I did not seem worthy to be hung up in a shoemaker's shop, under the last words and dying speech of Levi Ames; and nothing appeared to be wanting to my disgrace, but suffering myself to be held up among the great worthies of America. Accordingly I sent my compliments to Mr. Sharpless, thanked him for his intended politeness; but disclaimed all right of being ranked among the eminent and publick characters, which he was collecting together; and so refused sitting. The chief justice Dana afterwards called on me, and requested me to sit. Out of deference to him I said, if it was his opinion that I ought, I would no longer decline. But luckily Mr. Sharpless never troubled me again with an invitation." *Journal.*

Note

Note IX.

"1796. November. Colonel Dawes and Mr. Otis are chosen, the one elector of president and vice-president, the other a representative to Congress. Some days before the choice, —— came to me and said, that the Federalists had serious apprehensions that they should not be able to carry Mr. Otis; but that he was of opinion, that the two parties would cordially unite in me; and asked me, if I would suffer myself to be set up as a candidate for representative. I told him that the idea was wholly new to me, but as I must give up the probate office, I thought it would be imprudent. He would not take so sudden an answer, but required me to consider it until the next day, which I did, and then, after consulting with one friend, returned him the same answer, which ended the affair." *Journal.*

Note X.

"1784. December 12th. Sunday. I verily think that my salvation does not depend upon my believing the Trinity or the Unity of the Godhead; nor am I a better christian, for enlisting under the banners of Christ to support his equality with the Father, or for assisting the omnipotence of the Father in maintaining his superiority over the Son, than if I sincerely imitated the example of the one, and reverentially adored the other." *Journal.*

Note XI.

"1797. September 11th. The fate of man is pitiable: nothing but great powers can raise him, when endowed with sensibility, above misery. These are not at his option. Application may do much to strengthen small talents; but after all they will scarcely screen him from contempt: and application is not always in a man's power: it is itself a faculty of creating abilities. Innocence is the only refuge to shelter mediocrity of parts. This is in every man's command.——Yet, let us reflect:—happy were it so! Can weakness be a match for temptation? No. To resist it requires strength of mind, command of all the appetites and passions, a vigilant, inflexible prudence. What is the weak man of sensibility then

then to do? Hard is his lot. In attempting to learn courage, the wounds he receives in the conflict justify his ideas of danger. In fortifying the mind with firmness, he finds not deranged materials to be set in order, but a vacancy of powers, a link by nature omitted in the chain of reason. Let him address himself to heaven, implore its benevolent aid, and by endeavouring to become good, lay a foundation for confidence in himself, which may extend in time, beyond the particular objects of piety, and like the healing bark in the wounded tree, cover his nakedness, invigorate his growth, and multiply his fruits. To do this may God help me!" *Journal.*

"1797. October 31st. I have frequently resolved to keep a journal: but never could be brought to put it into practice. Of what should it consist? Of resolutions and relapses; of many faults and few virtues; of fears without danger, and misfortunes without forecast. Of what avail would such a picture be?" *Journal.*

## Note XII.

As was anticipated, several persons have, since his decease, paid the tribute of respect to the memory of Judge Minot. The following just portrait of his character is by the pencil of his friend, the Hon. John Quincy Adams.

"Are you an observer of men, and has it been your fortune only once in your life to behold George Richards Minot? You have remarked the elegance of his person and the peculiar charm of expression in his countenance—Have you witnessed his deportment? It bore the marks of graceful simplicity, of dignified modesty, of unassuming urbanity—Have you listened to his conversation? It was the voice of harmony; it was the index to a penetrating and accurate mind; it was the echo to a warm and generous heart. Such appeared Mr. Minot, on a first and transient acquaintance; from which period, to that of the most confidential intimacy, our own knowledge, and the unvaried testimony of indisputable authority concur in affirming that every trace of pleasing first impression was proportionally deepened; every anticipation of sterling worth abundantly fulfilled. His character, as the citizen of

of a free country, was not less exemplary. The profoundest historian of antiquity has adduced the life of Agricola, as an extraordinary proof that it is possible to be a great and good man, even under the despotism of the worst of princes. Mr. Minot's example may be alleged as a demonstration equally rare under a free republic, that in times of the greatest dissension, and amidst the most virulent rancour of factions, a man may be great and good, and yet acquire and preserve the esteem and veneration of all. In the bitterness of civil contention, he enjoyed the joint applause of minds the most irreconcileable to each other. Before the musick of his character the very scorpions dropped from the lash of discord ; the very snakes of fashion listened and sunk asleep ! Yet did he not purchase this unanimous approbation by the sacrifice of any principle at the shrine of popularity. From that double-tongued candour which fashions its doctrines to its company ; from that cowardice in the garb of good nature, which assents to all opinions because it dares support none ; from that obsequious egotism, ever ready to bow before the idol of the day, to make man its God, and hold the voice of mortality for the voice of heaven, he was pure as the chrystal streams. Personal invectives and odious imputations against political adversaries he knew to be seldom necessary ; he knew that when unnecessary, whether exhibited in the disgusting deformity of their nakedness, or tricked out in the gorgeous decorations of philosophy, whether livid with the cadaverous colours of their natural complexion or flaring with the cosmetick washes of pretended patriotism, they are ever found among the profligate prostitutes of party, and not among the vestal virgins of truth. He disdained to use them : but as to all the great questions upon principle, which are at the bottom of our divisions, there was no more concealment or disguise in his lips, than hesitation or wavering in his mind. So far was he from courting the prejudices or compromising with the claims of faction, that he published the history of the insurrections in this commonwealth, at a time when the passions, which had produced them, were still vigorous and flourishing : and although nothing contributed more than that work to consign the rebellion it recorded

corded to infamy, none of its numerous abettors ever raised a reclamation against the veracity of the history, or the worth of the historian.

"The community to which such a man as this belongs, confer honour upon themselves by every token of distinction they bestow upon him. Mr. Minot was successively employed in various offices of trust and of honour. To vice a merciful but inflexible judge; to misfortune a compassionate friend; to the widow, a protector of her rights; to the orphan, one in place of a father: in every station which the voice of his country called him alternately to fill, he displayed that individual endowment of the mind and that peculiar virtue of the heart, which was most essential to the useful exercise of its functions. During the latter period of his life, his occupations were multiplied beyond the performance of an ordinary man. He not only accomplished them all with facility, but found hours of leisure for his favourite studious pursuits, and hours of relaxation for the enjoyments of social intercourse and convivial festivity.

"His attainments in literature outstripped the slow advance of years; in the bloom of youth he was associated to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the Historical Society recognize in him one of their founders. Of his occasional performances, it may be said without disparagement to others, that there is little difficulty in distinguishing their characteristick excellence. His Oration on the 5th of March; his Eulogy on the first of American patriots and heroes, and his address to your Society, from the spot whence this feeble tribute to his memory is now offered, deserve a particular enumeration among the productions of his mind. He had an ardent and inextinguishable thirst of general knowledge; but the department of history was that towards which some casual incident, of those which are wont to point the magnet of genius to its polar star, had originally turned the bias of his preference. The result of his labours in this field, is chiefly before the publick, and is duly appreciated by all who deem any such labours objects of regard. As an historian, authenticity, impartiality, penetration and sagacity, are obvious characters of his writings. His narrative

is

is perspicuous ; his arrangement well delineated : he traces events to their causes, with discriminating eye, and though sparing of his own reflections upon their issue, he skilfully collects and concentrates their rays upon the mind of his reader. He makes no ostentatious display of his moral and intellectual wealth, but gives you the key to the chambers containing them : it is but opening the door, and treasures in profusion are before you. His selection of subjects was dictated by a vigorous judgment, and a well meditated sense of utility. The insurrections of the year 1786, form one of the most instructive periods in the history of our country. Occasions like that, elicit and display many of the virtues and vices, accomplishments and defects of publick bodies and private individuals, of constitutions and constituted authorities, which remain latent in times of cooler composure. The younger part of our fellow-citizens especially, will find themselves amply rewarded for any time and meditation bestowed upon that work. It will give them a deeper insight into the character of this people, a more extensive view of our social organization, and its internal operations at critical times, than they could obtain by years of personal observation. The progress of collisions in publick sentiment, until they kindle into civil war, in a country where publick sentiment is the final earthly arbiter of all publick measures, and where the efficacy of obedience is in ordinary times secured by the mildness of authority, there reveals a precious mine, to the search of contemplation. There a citizen of Massachusetts may learn not to despair of publick virtue, even when apparently extinguished by the violence of party, and the pressure of distress. There an American may be informed that our Constitutions have within them a principle of self-preservation, beyond the letter of the law, which can redeem them from dissolution even when apparently suffocated by the overwhelming torrents of faction.

" The revolution which separated these States from their connexion as Colonies with Great Britain, and their subsequent confederation, have taken from our local history some of its magnitude and moment. These events have expanded the circle, and increased the multitude of our civil

civil relations. In forming the idea of our country, we are no longer bounded by the scanty dimensions of a petty province. The largest portion of this Continent is united under a social compact, which makes its inhabitants equal fellow-citizens of one great and growing empire. To preserve, to strengthen, to perpetuate this union, is the first political duty, as it ought to be the highest glory of every American. Since its establishment our history has become the history of the nation : and had it been consistent with the wise decrees of Providence to prolong the life of Mr. Minot, we might have hoped that the period which came within the compass of his observation, would have been transmitted to future times, with that simplicity and purity of style and manner, that zeal for the civil and religious liberties of man, that instinctive and reflected love of virtue and abhorrence of vice, which flowed spontaneously from his pen. But before he could commence upon this arduous task, there was a previous chasm in our history to be filled. It was a period of less general interest than those which preceded and followed it; less propitious therefore to the talents and reputation of its historian. But Mr. Minot's primary consideration was the publick utility, and not his own personal fame.— It was a labour inadequate indeed to his powers, but necessary to connect the chain of our annals; and unless undertaken by him, it might have remained unaccomplished. Of this work, one volume is in possession of the publick. He was just closing the second, when the pen was wrested from his hand, by that king of terrours, whom the most elevated human capacity and the most perfect human virtues are alike impotent to resist."

*Address to the Members of the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society, May* 28. 1802.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE EASTERN COAST OF THE COUNTY OF BARNSTABLE, FROM CAPE COD, OR RACE POINT, IN LATITUDE 42°. 5′. TO CAPE MALEBARRE, OR SANDY POINT OF CHATHAM, IN LATITUDE 41°. 33′. POINTING OUT THE SPOTS, ON WHICH THE TRUSTEES OF THE HUMANE SOCIETY HAVE ERECTED HUTS, AND OTHER PLACES WHERE SHIPWRECKED SEAMEN MAY LOOK FOR SHELTER. OCTOBER, 1802.

THE curvature of the shore, on the west side of Provincetown, and south of Race Point, is called Herring Cove ; which is three miles in length. There is good anchoring ground here ; and vessels may ride safely in four or five fathoms of water, when the wind is from north-east to south-east.

On Race Point stand about a dozen fishing huts, containing fire places and other conveniences. The distance from these huts to Provincetown, which lies on Cape Cod harbour, is three miles. The passage is over a sandy beach, without grass or any other vegetable growing on it, to the woods, through which is a winding road to the town. It would be difficult, if not impossible, for a stranger to find his way thither in the dark ; and the woods are so full of ponds and entangling swamps, that if the road was missed, destruction would probably be the consequence of attempting to penetrate them in the night.

Not far from Race Point commences a ridge, which extends to the head of Stout's Creek. With the face to the east, on the left hand of the ridge is the sandy shore ; on the right is a narrow, sandy valley ; beyond which is naked sand, reaching to the hills and woods of Provincetown. This ridge is well covered with beach grass ; and appears to owe its existence to that vegetable. Beach grass, during the spring and summer, grows about two feet and a half. If surrounded by naked beach, the storms of autumn and winter heap up the sand on all sides, and cause it to rise nearly to the top of the plant. In the ensuing spring the grass sprouts anew ; is again covered with sand in the winter ; and thus a hill or ridge continues to ascend, as long as there is a sufficient base to support it, or till the circumscribing

circumscribing sand, being also covered with beach grass, will no longer yield to the force of the winds.

On this ridge, half way between Race Point and the head of Stout's Creek, the Trustees of the Humane Society have erected a hut. It stands a mile from Peaked Hill, a land-mark well known to seamen; and is about two miles and a half from Race Point. Seamen, cast away on this part of the coast, will find a shelter here; and in north-east storms, should they strike to the leeward of it, and be unable to turn their faces to the windward, by passing on to Race Point, they will soon come to the fishing huts before mentioned.

At the head of Stout's Creek the Trustees have built a second hut. Stout's Creek is a small branch of East Harbour in Truro. Many years ago there was a body of salt marsh on it; and it then deserved the name of a creek. But the marsh was long since destroyed; and the creek now scarcely exists, appearing only like a small depression in the sand, and being entirely dry at half tide. The creek runs from north-west to south-east, and is nearly parallel with the shore on the ocean, from which it is at no great distance. Not far from it the hills of Provincetown terminate; and should not the hut be found, by walking round the head of the creek, with the face to the west, the hills on the right hand, and keeping close to the shore on the harbour, in less than an hour the shipwrecked seamen would come to Provincetown.

The Humane Society, several years ago, erected a hut at the head of Stout's Creek. But it was built in an improper manner, having a chimney in it: and was placed on a spot where no beach grass grew. The strong winds blew the sand from its foundation, and the weight of the chimney brought it to the ground; so that in January of the present year it was entirely demolished. This event took place about six weeks before the Brutus was cast away. If it had remained, it is probable that the whole of the unfortunate crew of that ship would have been saved, as they gained the shore a few rods only from the spot where the hut had stood.

The hut now erected stands on a place covered with beach grass. To prevent any accident from happening to it,

it, or to the other hut near Peaked Hill, the Trustees have secured the attention of several gentlemen in the neighbourhood. Dr. Thaddeus Brown and Capt. Thomas Smalley of Provincetown have engaged to inspect both huts, to see that they are supplied with straw or hay in the autumn, that the doors and windows are kept shut, and that repairs are made, when necessary. The Rev. Mr. Damon of Truro has also promised to visit the hut at Stout's Creek twice or thrice in a year; and the Rev. Mr. Whitman of Wellfleet, distinguished through the county for his activity and benevolence, has undertaken, though remote from the place, the same charge.

From the head of Stout's Creek to the termination of the salt marsh, which lies on both sides and at the head of East Harbour river, the distance is about three miles and a half. A narrow beach separates this river from the ocean. It is not so regular a ridge as that before described, as there are on it one or two hills, which the neighbouring inhabitants call islands. It may without much difficulty be crossed every where, except over these elevations. By these hills, even during the night, the beach may be distinguished from those hereafter to be mentioned. It lies from north-west to south-east; and is in most parts covered with beach grass. The hills have a few shrubs on the declivities next the river. At the end of the marsh the beach subsides a little; and there is an easy passage into a valley, in which are situated two or three dwelling houses. The first on the left hand, or south, is a few rods only from the ocean.

The shore, which extends from this valley to Race Point, is unquestionably the part of the coast the most exposed to shipwrecks. A north-east storm, the most violent, and fatal to seamen, as it is frequently accompanied with snow, blows directly on the land: a strong current sets along the shore: add to which that ships, during the operation of such a storm, endeavour to work to the northward, that they may get into the bay. Should they be unable to weather Race Point, the wind drives them on the shore, and a shipwreck is inevitable. Accordingly, the strand is every where covered with the fragments of vessels. Huts therefore, placed within a mile of each other, have been thought

thought necessary by many judicious persons. To this opinion the Trustees are disposed to pay due respect; and hereafter, if the funds of the Society increase, new huts will be built here for the relief of the unfortunate.

From the valley above mentioned the land rises, and less than a mile from it the High Land commences. On the first elevated spot, the Clay Pounds, stands the Light House. The shore here turns to the south; and the High Land extends to the Table Land of Eastham. This High Land approaches the ocean with steep and lofty banks, which it is extremely difficult to climb, especially in a storm. In violent tempests, during very high tides, the sea breaks against the foot of them, rendering it then unsafe to walk on the strand, which lies between them and the ocean. Should the seaman succeed in his attempt to ascend them, he must forbear to penetrate into the country, as houses are generally so remote, that they would escape his research during the night: he must pass on to the vallies, by which the banks are intersected. These vallies, which the inhabitants call Hollows, run at right angles with the shore; and in the middle, or lowest part of them, a road leads from the dwelling houses to the sea.

The first of these vallies is Dyer's Hollow, a mile and a half south of the Light House. This opening is about two hundred yards broad from summit to summit. In it stands a dwelling house, a quarter of a mile from the beach.

A mile and a half south of Dyer's Hollow, is a second valley, called Harding's Hollow. At the entrance of this valley, the sand has gathered; so that at present a little climbing is necessary. Passing over several fences, and taking heed not to enter the wood on the right hand, at the distance of three quarters of a mile, a house is to be found. This house stands on the south side of the road; and not far from it, on the south, is Pamet river, which runs from east to west through a body of salt marsh.

The third valley, a half of a mile south of Harding's Hollow, is Head of Pamet Hollow. It may with ease be distinguished from the other hollows mentioned, as it is a wide opening, and leads immediately over a beach to the

the salt marsh at the head of Pamet river. In the midst of the hollow the sand has been raised by a brush fence, carried across it from north to south. This must be passed; and the shipwrecked mariner will soon come to a fence, which separates what is called the road from the marsh. If he turn to the left hand, or south, at the distance of a quarter of a mile, he will discover a house. If he turn to the right hand, at the distance of half a mile, he will find the same house, which is mentioned in the foregoing paragraph.

The fourth opening, three quarters of a mile south of Head of Pamet, is Brush Valley. This hollow is narrow, and climbing is necessary. Entering it, and inclining to the right, three quarters of a mile will bring seamen to the house, which is situated at the Head of Pamet. By proceeding straight forward, and passing over rising ground, another house may be discovered, but with more difficulty.

These three hollows, lying near together, serve to designate each other. Either of them may be used; but Head of Pamet Hollow is the safest.

South of Brush Valley, at the distance of three miles, there is a fifth opening, called Newcomb's Hollow, east of the head of Herring river in Wellfleet. This valley is a quarter of a mile wide. On the north side of it, near the shore, stands a fishing hut.

Between the two last vallies the bank is very high and steep. From the edge of it, west, there is a strip of sand, a hundred yards in breadth. Then succeeds low brushwood, a quarter of a mile wide, and almost impassable. After which comes a thick, perplexing forest, in which not a house is to be discovered. Seamen therefore, though the distance between these two vallies is great, must not attempt to enter the wood, as in a snow storm they must undoubtedly perish. This place, so formidable in description, will lose somewhat of its terrour, when it is observed, that no instance of a shipwreck on this part of the coast is recollected by the oldest inhabitants of Wellfleet.

Half of a mile south of Newcomb's Hollow, is the sixth valley, called Pearce's Hollow. It is a small valley. A house

house stands at the distance of a little more than a quarter of a mile from the beach, west by south.

The seventh valley is Cohoon's hollow, a half of a mile south of Pearce's Hollow. It is not very wide. West from the entrance, several houses may be found at the distance of a mile. This hollow lies east by north from Wellfleet meeting house.

Two miles south of Cohoon's Hollow, the eighth valley is Snow's Hollow. It is smaller than the last. West from the shore, at the distance of a quarter of a mile, is the county road, which goes round the head of Blackfish Creek. Passing through this valley to the fence, which separates the road from the upland and marsh at the head of the creek, a house will immediately be found by turning to the right hand, or north. There are houses also on the left, but more remote.

The High Land gradually subsides here, and a mile and a half south terminates at the ninth valley, called Fresh Brook Hollow, in which a house is to be found a mile from the shore, west.

The tenth, two miles and a half south from Fresh Brook Hollow, is Plum Valley, about three hundred yards wide. West is a house, three quarters of a mile distant.

Between these two vallies is the Table Land.

After this there is no hollow of importance to Cape Malebarre.

From Fresh Brook Hollow to the commencement of Nauset Beach, the bank next the ocean is about sixty feet high. There are houses scattered over the plain, open country : but none of them are nearer than a mile to the shore. In a storm of wind and rain they might be discerned by day light ; but in a snow storm, which rages here with excessive fury, it would be almost impossible to discover them either by night or by day.

Not far from this shore, south, the Trustees have erected a third hut, on Nauset beach. Nauset beach begins in latitude 41°. 51′. and extends south to latitude 41°. 41′. It is divided into two parts by a breach, which the ocean has made through it. This breach is the mouth of Nauset or Stage harbour ; and from the opening the beach extends north two miles and a quarter, till it joins the main land.

land. It is about a furlong wide and forms Nauset harbour; which is of little value, its entrance being obstructed by a bar. This northern part of the beach may be distinguished from the southern part by its being of a less regular form; storms have made frequent irruptions through the ridge, on which beach grass grows. On an elevated part of the beach, stands the hut, about a mile and a half north of the mouth of Nauset harbour. Eastham meeting house lies from it west south west, distant a mile and three quarters. The meeting house is without a steeple; but it may be distinguished from the dwelling houses near it by its situation, which is between two small groves of locusts, one on the south, and one on the north, that on the south being three times as long as the other. About a mile and a quarter from the hut, west by north, appear the top and arms of a windmill. The Rev. Mr. Shaw and Elisha Mayo, Esq., of Eastham have engaged to inspect this building.

The southern part of Nauset beach, most commonly called Chatham beach, and by a few persons Potanumaquut beach, begins at the mouth of Nauset harbour, and extends eight or nine miles south to the mouth of Chatham harbour. It is about fifty rods wide. A regular, well formed ridge, which in the most elevated part of it is forty feet high, runs the whole length of it; and, with the exception of a few spots, is covered with beach grass. This beach forms the barrier of Chatham harbour, which from Strong island north receives the name of Pleasant bay. A mile south of the entrance of Nauset harbour, it joins the main land of Orleans, except in very high tides, when the sea flows from the north-eastern arms of Pleasant bay into the harbour of Nauset, completely insulating the beach. By those who are acquainted with the shallow, it may be safely forded at any time; but strangers must not venture to pass it, when covered with water, as below, the channel is seven feet deep. On this beach, about half way between the entrances of Nauset and Chatham harbours, the Trustees have erected a fourth hut. The spot selected is a narrow part of the beach. On the west, the water adjoining it is called Bass Hole. Salt marsh is north and south of it next the beach, but is here interrupted.

Orleans

Orleans meeting house lies from it north-west. The meeting house is without a steeple, and is not seen; but it is very near a windmill placed on an elevated ground, a conspicuous object to seamen coming on the coast. It may be necessary to add that there are three windmills in Orleans forming a semicircle, that the mill referred to is on the right hand, or north-east point, and that the mill in the middle point of the semicircle stands on still higher ground. The meeting house of Chatham is situated from it south-west. This meeting house is also without a steeple, and is concealed by Great Hill, a noted land mark. The hill appears with two summits, which are a quarter of a mile apart. The hut lies east from Sampson's island in Pleasant bay. Timothy Bascom, Esq. of Orleans has undertaken to inspect this hut.

Lest seamen should miss this hut, by striking to the leeward of it, the Trustees have erected another on the same beach. It stands a mile north of the mouth of Chatham harbour, east of the meeting house, and opposite the town.

Another spot on the same beach would be a proper situation for a hut. It is north of the fourth hut, and east of the middle of Pochet island. The highest part of the ridge is near it, south. A break in the ridge, over which the sea appears sometimes to have flowed, divides this high part from the northern portion of the beach.

On the beach of Cape Malebarre, or the Sandy Point of Chatham, the Trustees have built a sixth hut. This beach stretches from Chatham, ten miles into the sea, towards Nantucket; and is from a quarter to three quarters of a mile in breadth. It is continually gaining south: above three miles have been added to it during the past fifty years. On the east side of the beach is a curve in the shore, called Stewart's Bend, where vessels may anchor with safety, in three or four fathoms of water, when the wind blows from north to south-west. North of the Bend there are several bars and shoals. A little below the middle of the beach, on the west side, is Wreck Cove, which is navigable for boats only. The hut stands two hundred yards from the ocean, south-east from the entrance of Wreck Cove, a half of a mile. Between the mouth of the Cove

Cove and hut, is Stewart's Knoll, an elevated part of the beach. The distance of the hut from the commencement of the beach is six miles, and from its termination four. Great Hill in Chatham bears north by west, distant six miles; and the south end of Morris's island, which is on the west side of the beach, north by east, distant four miles. Richard Sears, Esq. of Chatham, has engaged to visit the two last mentioned huts.

Two miles below the sixth hut is a fishing house, built of thatch, in the form of a wigwam. It stands on the west side of the beach, a quarter of a mile from the ocean. Annually in September it is renewed; and generally remains in tolerable preservation during the winter.

Another spot, a few rods from the sea, four miles south from the commencement of the beach, and a half of a mile north of the head of Wreck Cove, would be a proper situation for a hut. A little south of this spot, in storms and very high tides, the sea breaks over from the ocean into Wreck Cove.

Cape Malebarre beach may be distinguished from the two beaches before described, not only by its greater breadth, but also by its being of a less regular form. It is not so well covered with grass as Chatham beach. From Stewart's Knoll, south, to the extremity, it is lowest in the middle. In this valley, and in other low places, fresh water may be obtained by digging two feet into the sand. The same thing is true of Nauset and Chatham beaches.

The six huts, the situation of which has thus been pointed out, are all of one size and shape. Each hut stands on piles, is eight feet long, eight feet wide, and seven feet high; a sliding door is on the south, a sliding shutter on the west, and a pole, rising fifteen feet above the top of the building, on the east. Within, it is supplied either with straw or hay; and is farther accommodated with a bench.

The whole of the coast, from Cape Cod to Cape Malebarre, is sandy, and free from rocks. Along the shore, at the distance of a half of a mile, is a bar; which is called the *Outer* Bar, because there are smaller bars within it, perpetually varying. This outer bar is separated into many parts by guzzles, or small channels. It extends to Chatham; and as it proceeds southward, gradually approaches the

the shore and grows more shallow. Its general depth at high water is two fathoms, and three fathoms over the guzzles; and its least distance from the shore is about a furlong. Off the mouth of Chatham harbour there are bars which reach three quarters of a mile; and off the entrance of Nauset harbour the bars extend a half of a mile. Large, heavy ships strike on the outer bar, even at high water; and their fragments only reach the shore. But smaller vessels pass over it at full sea; and when they touch at low water, they beat over it, as the tide rises, and soon come to the land. If a vesel be cast away at low water, it ought to be left with as much expedition as possible; because the fury of the waves is then checked, in some measure, by the bar; and because the vessel is generally broken to pieces with the rising flood. But seamen, shipwrecked at full sea, ought to remain on board till near low water; for the vessel does not then break to pieces; and by attempting to reach the land before the tide ebbs away, they are in great danger of being drowned. On this subject there is one opinion only among judicious mariners. It may be necessary however to remind them of a truth, of which they have full conviction, but which, amidst the agitation and terrour of a storm, they too frequently forget.

*r. s.*

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## Description of Sandwich, in the County of Barnstable. 1802. By Wendell Davis, Esquire.

SANDWICH is a post town, situate on the westerly part of Cape Cod. The original grant of the township was from the Old Colony of Plymouth, in the year 1639.

The court of assistants having assembled at Plymouth in the year 1685, and it being then represented to said court, that Mr. William Bradford and his associates had previously granted liberty to Mr. Edmund Freeman, Henry Feak, Thomas Dexter, and others, to establish a plantation, since called Sandwich, in this government, the same grant was then confirmed, under the signature of Governour Hinckley, to the above-named grantees, their heirs and assigns forever.

The

The boundaries of the township are described in that instrument in the following manner: "Beginning, westerly, by the dividing line between the town of Plymouth and the said town of Sandwich, and on the east by the line which divides the town last mentioned from the town of Barnstable, which runs north-east to the sea; and south-west into the woods; and is bounded northerly by the sea; southerly partly by the dividing line between them and Suckanussett and partly by the Indians' land, according to the known and accustomed boundaries." It appears that the persons, employed in running these lines, were Capt. *Miles Standish* and Mr. *John Alden*, characters well known in the early history of this country.

The quality of the soil in the extreme parts of this township is generally light and unproductive; yielding however a large quantity of pine wood, interspersed with oak, which of late years have assumed considerable value from the growing scarcity of that article in other towns distant, where it frequently is vended. One of the first natural advantages of this township consists in the extensive tracts of wood land, which are found within its limits.

The traveller on the publick road from Plymouth to Sandwich would probably be often induced, from the sandy condition of the roads, and the unsettled state of the country, to anticipate with some solicitude the close of his pilgrimage. To those, however, who love to cherish the remembrance of "the days of old," the view of the sacrifice rocks in his way, which the untutored Indian, in compliance with a religious usage, has covered with pine knots and broken pieces of wood, may afford some relief to beguile the solitude of his ride. *Clam-Pudding Pond*, another object of attention to the antiquarian traveller, will also present itself to his view, where our ancestors, in travelling from the Cape to Plymouth, used to sit and regale themselves with clams and pudding, the staple dishes of those primitive times. After riding through a body of wood, twelve miles in extent, interspersed with but few houses, the *settlement* of *Sandwich* appears with a more agreeable effect to the eye of the traveller.

The first group of houses, after leaving the woods, is called after the Indian name of *Scussett;* and the brook through

through which the traveller must pass, in going through *Scussett*, is in the course of the long contemplated canal across the isthmus of Cape Cod. The quality of the soil upon the east side of the road, extending to Barnstable line, is good, well cultivated, and productive. On the *west* side, it is far less so.

About three miles from *Scussett* is the village of *Sandwich*. It is embellished with a large and beautiful pond of water in its centre, and a fall of water, on which are situated a grist-mill and fulling-mill that are supplied from an inexhaustible fountain. This stream shapes its course to the sea, fertilizing the lands and meadows through which it passes. Round this pond stand the principal houses of the village, together with a number of shops for the different mechanick arts. The meeting house of the first precinct and a handsome academy occupy two neighbouring eminences. There are two *publick inns* in this village, which are excelled by few, if any, in the State.

Proceeding further eastward, the next group of houses is at a place called *Spring Hill*. Here is situated the meeting house of the Friends, who constitute a considerably numerous and respectable class of the inhabitants.

The employment of the people on this shore is both maritime and agricultural. The town in its general character is more agricultural, however, than otherwise, and more so than any other in the county. The inhabitants in general are substantial *livers*. From their vicinity to the sea, they are enabled to draw a considerable portion of their subsistence from its bosom. They generally occupy small farms, and till them to the best advantage, and with far less labour than a stubborn soil would require. All sorts of grain are raised with facility, and on spots of ground apparently the most unpromising to the eye of the husbandman; resulting perhaps from the contiguity of the soil to the humid atmosphere of the sea. The great extent and excellence of the meadows and marshes in this place is a great source of wealth and improving husbandry. By means of them, they are enabled to keep large stocks of cattle in the winter, and food for their subsistence through the remainder of the year, if necessary. It is computed that about one hundred loads of salt hay are annually

annually sold, to supply the wants of neighbouring towns to the westward of Sandwich. The township is excellent for the raising of sheep of the best kind, which run at large in the forests and plains. They average in the month of October, when they are sold to the drovers from the northward and westward, about one dollar and upwards per head. The meat is greatly preferred by connoisseurs.

The township abounds in ponds and brooks. At the places called Snake Pond, and Hog Pond, in the south-westerly part of the town, better known by the popular name of *the Woods*, are several small settlements of houses, and a few valuable farms.

*Pocassett* is an Indian name for the second parish in Sandwich. This precinct is situated on Buzzard's bay, and contains a meeting house for publick worship, with a small number of families. They have had but one settled minister, since their establishment as a precinct. It is now vacant. Here, the oyster beds are found in such excellence and plenty. Wild deer are often taken in the woods of Pocassett and in different parts of the town. Of late, they have much increased, and a recent law of the Commonwealth, forbidding the killing of them but within a certain period of the year, and in a regulated manner, will tend greatly to augment their number.

A little to the northward and eastward of Pocassett is a place called Monumet after the Indian appellation. These aboriginal names probably derived their origin from the circumstance, that the several places which they represent were once favourite resorts of the sachems and natives of this country. *Monumet*, the last mentioned place, contains a small collection of houses and a publick meeting house. The clergyman of the first precinct officiates therein one sixth part of the time, as it forms a part of his precinct. In Buzzard's and Buttermilk bays and also in Monumet river are found fish of various kinds : such as bass, sheep's head, tau taug, &c.

The projected canal, if it ever should be accomplished, will open almost a new creation to this part of the town. Where now are seen a few scattered dwellings, hundreds would then appear. Employment to large numbers of the inhabitants

inhabitants would be rapidly furnished. Real property situated on its borders would be greatly enhanced in value. Constant markets and an easy transportation of wood, which is the staple article of business, would be obtained. Ware houses would probably soon be erected on its banks ; and a trade between the southern and northern States facilitated, calculated to confer immense advantages on the vicinity of such a channel of communication. If, from this partial and local consideration of the subject, we extend our thoughts to the aggregate of national blessings, which would attend its execution, both as it respects the preservation of life and property, our ideas of its importance and utility would become infinitely enhanced. There have been repeated surveys of the ground through which the proposed canal would probably pass, under the immediate eye of publick committees for that purpose. The documents accompanying their reports will be far more correct data, on which to found an enlightened opinion relative to the practicability of this enterprise, than any information within the knowledge of the writer of this paper. A more recent survey however, which was prompted by the reward of private benefaction, has been made under the direction of Mr. *Bachellor*, a man of reputed knowledge and experience in works of this nature, which impressed the mind of the undertaker with a favourable idea of its practicability and success. At the time the last survey was taken, the proprietors of land generally came forward and expressed their dispositions to give them to the publick towards accomplishing so important an object.

There are several inlets in the town, which form safe, and in some instances, commodious harbours, viz. at Pocassett, Monumet, Scussett, Spring Hill, and the Town Harbour, so called. The Town Harbour is about a mile and a half below the meeting house of the first precinct. It is a small and irregular inlet, capable of receiving only vessels of small tonnage. These vessels are principally employed in the coasting business to Boston and the eastern shore. Wood is the principal article of transportation. The fisheries have been repeatedly attempted, but never with general success. This line of business has always been prosecuted with more advantage in the eastern than in the western

western part of the county. About *thirty sail of vessels* constitute the whole navigation of the place.

Some of the enterprising inhabitants have of late turned their attention to the manufacture of salt by the rays of the sun on the lands near the sea shore. It has been estimated that a capital of above a hundred and thirty thousand dollars is already vested in this kind of property in the several towns within the county of Barnstable. Several patents for improved modes of building the works have been obtained by ingenious individuals on the Cape. The net profits upon this manufacture of salt is by general estimation twenty-five per cent upon the capital employed. When the success, with the security and permanency of this species of property is considered, together with the handsome income it will always probably yield from the extensive demand of this important article, we may reasonably expect that this branch of business will become an increasing source of opulence to this portion of the Commonwealth. The salt is remarkably pure and white, and the Glauber salts are recommended as of the best quality.

It is much to be lamented that the landholders in the county have not bestowed more attention to the cultivation of *trees.* Beside the beauty and worth they confer on any country, they would be of singular advantage to this Cape, by defending the soil from the inroads of driving wind and sands. More trees are however to be found in Sandwich than in other parts of the county. Some orchards succeed here extremely well. One cider press in Sandwich is the only one known to the writer on this Cape. From the peculiarity of our local situation, the fruit trees are always exposed in the spring to rude and severe blasts. By giving the orchards a more northern or eastern aspect, and retarding the early blossoming of the trees, the preservation of fruit from these untimely blasts would probably be greatly prevented.

By the late census, the enumeration of the inhabitants stood at two thousand and twenty-four souls; houses, at two hundred and ninety-six. The town may be considered as favourable to longevity.—The table of mortality annexed to this description will confirm this observation.

The

The ecclesiastical history of this place cannot be fully given for want of church memoranda. The records of the First Congregational Church, previous to the ordination of the Rev. Roland Cotton, are lost. He was ordained November 28, 1694, and died March 18, 1721–2, O. S. The Rev. Benjamin Fessenden was ordained September 12, 1722, and died in the ministry August 8, 1746. Rev. Abraham Williams was ordained June 14, 1749, and died in the ministry August, 1784. Rev. Jonathan Burr, the present pastor, was ordained April 18, 1787.

The inhabitants of Sandwich generally manifest a fond and steady adherence to the manners, employments, and modes of living, which characterized their fathers; a resemblance, which at this day, will constitute no impeachment of either their virtue or taste.

Bill of mortality for the First Congregational Society in Sandwich, from January 1, 1790, to January 1, 1800.

| *Years.* | *Number of Deaths.* |
|---|---|
| 1790 | 24 |
| 1791 | 19 |
| 1792 | 12 |
| 1793 | 22 |
| 1794 | 20 |
| 1795 | 19 |
| 1796 | 39 |
| 1797 | 13 |
| 1798 | 6 |
| 1799 | 10 |
| Total number of deaths in 10 years, | 184 |

The average number of deaths in a year, is $18\frac{4}{10}$

Supposing the number of souls to be 1500, the proportion of deaths is as 1 to $81\frac{1}{2}$.

Of

Of the above number, 31 died before the end of the first year.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18 | between | 1 | and | 5 years. |
| 9 | | 5 | and | 10 |
| 15 | | 10 | and | 20 |
| 24 | | 20 | and | 30 |
| 13 | | 30 | and | 40 |
| 16 | | 40 | and | 50 |
| 12 | | 50 | and | 60 |
| 16 | | 60 | and | 70 |
| 14 | | 70 | and | 80 |
| 10 | | 80 | and | 90 |
| 6 | | 90 | and | 100 |
| 184 | | | | |

*Farther deductions.*

From the above, it appears that the proportion of those who live

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 90 years and upwards is nearly as | 1 | to | 30 |
| 80 | | 1 | to | 11 |
| 70 | | 1 | to | 6 |
| 60 | precisely | 1 | to | 4 |
| 50 | | 1 | to | 3 |
| 40 | | 1 | to | $2\frac{7}{8}$ |
| 30 | | 1 | to | $2\frac{30}{77}$ |
| 20 | | 1 | to | $2\frac{1}{11}$ |

Considerably more than one half of the above one hundred and eighty-four lived between 10 and 20 years.

The following table exhibits the number of inhabitants in Sandwich at four different periods.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1764 | 1449 | inhabitants (including 73 Indians) |
| 1776 | 1912 | |
| 1790 | 1991 | |
| 1800 | 2024 | |

## Note on Falmouth, in the County of Barnstable. September, 1802.

FALMOUTH is situated in latitude 41°. 33′. N. and longitude 70°. 35′. W. from Greenwich. It is bounded on the north, by Sandwich ; on the east, by Mashpee, from which it is separated in part by Waquoit bay ; on the south, by Vineyard sound ; and on the west, by Buzzard's bay. The length, north and south, is ten miles ; and the breadth, east and west, six. The distance of the principal meeting house from Boston is seventy-eight miles.

A chain of hills, which is continued from Sandwich, runs on the west side of the township, at no great distance from Buzzard's bay, and terminates at Woods' hole. The rest of the land is remarkably level. The soil is thin, but superiour in quality to the light lands in the eastern part of the county. It produces Indian corn, rye, oats, and a small quantity of wheat and barley. More English hay is cut here than in any other township of the county. The salt marshes, when compared with those of Barnstable and Sandwich are not extensive. They yield, however, about five hundred tons of hay.

A forest, consisting of pitch pines and a few oaks, is situated between the villages of Falmouth and Sandwich. One of the best roads in New England, it being hard, level, and free from stones, passes through it. A second road branches from this, and leads through Mashpee to Barnstable. A third road turns off from the second, and goes to Waquoit bay. These roads, though not as good as the first, are better than the Cape roads in general. A fourth road which is rough and stony passes from Falmouth to Sandwich, by Pokesset meeting house, and on the west of the first. The road from the town to Woods' hole, which is at the distance of four miles, is also bad.

There are not less than forty ponds in the township. Several of them are situated near the village and add variety and beauty to its prospects.

Falmouth contains between two and three hundred dwelling houses, eight mills, one of which is a fulling mill, and

and a number of shops and other buildings. The greatest part of the houses lie in one street along the Sound, are two stories* in height, large and well built, and constitute a pleasant village, which commands a fine view of the water, and Martha's Vineyard beyond it. The Congregational meeting house, a new and neat edifice, stands in a handsome square; and near it is a mason's hall, with an apartment under it for an academy. Another Congregational meeting house has lately been erected at the distance of five miles from the town, for the accommodation of the inhabitants who live near it. There is, however, one church only, and one minister, who preaches in the latter house two Sundays in five. The Quakers also have a meeting house, which stands on the Pokesset road, not far from Chapoquit or Hog island harbour.

The mouth of Waquoit bay is very narrow, and is choaked with sand; so that a small coaster, loaded, cannot enter it. West of this bay the shore on the Sound is intersected by several small rivers and salt water ponds; but none of them afford a harbour. Woods' hole, which is situated at the south-western extremity of the township, is an excellent harbour, containing from three to six fathoms of water. It is not large, but is well sheltered by points of land and Nonnymesset island. On the west side of the township are several small inlets, communicating with Buzzard's bay.

As Woods' hole is remote from the village, the inhabitants complain of the want of a good harbour near them. It is in their power, with no great expense and labour, to obtain what they wish: for at the distance of not more than two or three hundred rods, west-south-west from the meeting house, is a pond, a third of a mile in length, and sixty fathoms deep: the nearest part of this pond is about a quarter of a mile from the Sound; and if a communication was opened, it would form an excellent harbour.

Falmouth is a flourishing place. The inhabitants own about sixty vessels, containing, on a medium, fifty-five tons each.

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* By two stories, in New England, are meant apartments on a ground floor, and apartments above them. A house of this description is, in some parts of the world, if the writer mistakes not, styled a building of one story only.

each. Six are fishing vessels ; of which two go to the Straits of Belle Isle ; and four catch fish on the Shoals. The rest are coasters : upwards of thirty of them follow the business of carrying lumber ; and sail to the Southern States and the West-Indies.

The following Table exhibits the state of population in Falmouth at four different periods.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1764 | 1225 | inhabitants (including 62 Indians.) |
| 1776 | 1355 | |
| 1790 | 1637 | |
| 1800 | 1882. | |

*r. s.*

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## A Description of Dennis, in the County of Barnstable, September, 1802.

DENNIS is situated in latitude 41°. 45′. N. and longitude 70°. 08′. W. from Greenwich. It extends across the county, having Barnstable bay on the north, and Vineyard sound on the south. It is bounded on the east by Harwich, from which it is separated by Quivet creek, and by a line running from the creek south, six degrees and a half east, nine hundred and thirty-six chains (fifty links to a chain) to the Sound. On the west it is bounded by Yarmouth, from which it is separated by Bass river, Kelley's pond, and Follen's pond, communicating with the river, and by various lines beginning at Follen's pond, and terminating in a creek, called Chase Garden river, which runs through a salt marsh into Barnstable bay. The length of the township, from north to south, is eleven hundred chains : the breadth on the north shore, from east to west, a thousand chains ; on the south shore, near six hundred ; and in the narrowest part, two hundred and fifty. The distance of the old meeting house from Boston is eighty miles, and from Barnstable court house eight.

The township is naturally divided into two parts by a large tract of wood, which is chiefly in the centre. This wood consists of a little white oak, of some red and black oak, but principally of pitch pine. The upper road to Harwich, which is called the County road, passes through the wood, near the head of Follen's pond, where it commands

mands a pleasant prospect of part of Bass river, and the new meeting house and flourishing village near it. Not far from this pond, east, a road branches off to Chatham, leading through the south precinct of Harwich. These two roads, as far as they extend through Dennis, are sandy and heavy ; but they are not so bad as that which goes through the north part of the township.

The wood is bounded on the north by a range of hills, a part of the chain, which extends from Sandwich to Pleasant bay. In Dennis, these hills are a mile from the north shore ; and on their summits there is a prospect of the shore on Barnstable bay, from Cape Cod to Monument Point in Plymouth, a compass of seventy or eighty miles. The view has not much of the beautiful in it ; but it communicates a strong emotion of the sublime. North of the hills the land is uneven ; but south it is in general a plain.

A half of a mile east of the old meeting house, the rough hill of Scargo extends from the chain. This is the highest land in the county, and is the first which is made by seamen approaching the south shore.

The mouth of Chase Garden river is called Bass Hole. It is shallow ; but it affords a small harbour, in which fishing vessels can conveniently be laid up in the winter. The largest body of salt marsh in the township is about this creek.

A mile north-east of the old meeting house, a bend in the shore forms a cove, which is denominated the Bite. On the west of it runs a point of rocks, which is dry at low water, but the greatest part of which is covered at high water. This point extends a quarter of a mile into the bay, north ; and affords a shelter against north-west winds. A pier carried out to the east of the Bite would form a convenient harbour. As however the banks are continually washing away, they ought to be secured by a sea-wall.

Not far to the eastward of this place, nature has afforded to the inhabitants an opportunity of obtaining a still better harbour. Crow's or Flax pond lies a quarter of a mile from the bay. It covers sixty acres, and in the deepest part is not less than eleven fathoms. It is supposed by many

many that a canal of communication might easily be cut from this pond to the sea. The canal would run near a quarter of a mile to the east of the Bite. The digging would be principally through a swamp and low grounds; and a point of rocks, which lies off Suet Neck, and which is called Suet Neck Point, would in a great measure guard the entrance of the canal against the violence of north-east storms.

Suet Neck lies between the bay and Suet creek, the course of which is east and north-east to its mouth. Around it is a body of marsh. The sandy flats, which lie in front of Harwich, Orleans, Eastham, and part of Wellfleet, begin at Suet.

Not far east of this neck is that of Quivet, which is formed by the bay and Quivet creek. The course of the creek is north-east to its entrance. About it is a body of salt marsh larger than that on Suet.

As the high land comes so near the north shore, it is evident that these two creeks cannot run a great distance. The mouths of both are obstructed by bars, on which are about eight feet at high water, common tides. They afford however small harbours for fishermen.

Beside these creeks there are two brooks on the north shore. One empties into Hockanom creek in Yarmouth: the other falls into Quivet creek.

The most important inlet is on the south shore. This is Bass river, already mentioned as the boundary between Dennis and Yarmouth. The length of this river, from Follen's pond to the sea, is four miles. Its mouth is formed by two beaches, terminating in points; one on the east, extending from the entrance of Swan pond creek a mile and a half; another, on the west, extending, from the entrance of Parker's river in Yarmouth, a mile. From point to point the distance is about thirty-five rods.—Within, the river is somewhat wider for two miles, where it gradually grows narrow. At its entrance is a bar, on which are five feet only, at high water, common tides. Vessels therefore must be lightened, before they can come into the harbour. Within, the river is ten or eleven feet deep at high water, for a short distance. On the inside of the first mentioned beach, within the limits of Dennis, is a body

body of salt marsh. Much of the water, which flows from the sea, passes through the cuts which are in it; and thus the channel of the river is rendered less deep.

Beside Follen's and Kelley's ponds, which have already been mentioned, there are other salt water ponds communicating with Bass river on its eastern side, covering in the whole seventy acres. South of the new meeting house, on the same side of the river, is Grand cove, the extent of which is also seventy acres. These ponds and coves are of more value to the inhabitants than the same quantity of land, as they are filled with fish, and their shores abound with clams. A small brook, the only one in the south part of Dennis, issues from a swamp, and empties itself into Bass river on its eastern side.

On the western side, Wear-mill brook rises in Yarmouth, runs east, and discharges itself into Follen's pond. This brook, the whole of which is in Yarmouth, is properly the head of Bass river. From it, it is supposed, a canal might easily be cut into Yarmouth harbour, the intervening land being low, and the distance not great.*

A mile, east-south-east from the mouth of Bass river, begins a bar, called Dog-fish bar, which extends six miles west to Point Gammon in Yarmouth. It affords to vessels which lie within it a harbour, called Deep hole. From the end of this bar, on which is a buoy, the course into the river is west-north-west. Half way between the river's mouth and the end of the bar stands a pier, thirty-seven feet long, and thirty-one broad, on which is a store. There is good anchorage two cables' length east of it, in twelve feet at low water. Common tides rise here four feet.

Such is Bass river: The harbour which it affords, might be improved by art. Mr. Sylvanus Crowell, who lives on the Yarmouth side, and who also built the pier, has endeavoured to confine the water of the river within the main channel, and to prevent it from flowing through the marsh on the eastern side; but his laudable attempts have hitherto failed of success. Persevering labour may perhaps in time effect the wished for object.

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* See Vol. 3, p. 17. of Coll. Hist. Soc.

The only creek, which remains to be spoken of, is Swan pond creek, the head of which is Swan pond, covering a hundred and twenty acres. On this creek is a body of salt marsh. Between it and the Sound is Crocker's neck, in the south-eastern part of the township. The creek is not deep; and being near Bass river, will probably never become of much value.

The whole of the ponds in Dennis, including others, which are not of sufficient importance to be particularly mentioned, cover four hundred and fifty-five acres.

Beside these ponds there is a number of swamps, five or six of which have cedar in them. Several of these swamps are capable of being converted into good land.

The best land in Dennis lies on the bay, in and near Quivet and Suet necks, and in Nobscusset, north-west of the old meeting house. With the exception of these and a few other small spots, the soil of the township is light and sandy.

The light land produces not less than eight, and with manure, frequently as much as twenty bushels of Indian corn on an acre; and, on an average, eight or ten bushels of rye. The good land in the north part of the township yields, with manure, about thirty bushels of Indian corn, but rye not in a greater quantity than the light land. At present very little wheat is raised.

Thirty tons only of English hay are cut; but the marshes afford sufficient salt hay for the use of the inhabitants.

Sufficient butter is made for summer; also vegetables enough for the same season are raised; but both butter for winter and many vegetables are imported. More onions however, grow than are consumed by the inhabitants, a quantity being every year sent to market.

There are several small orchards of apples, most of which have lately been planted. The trees do not attain much height; and in bleak situations are liable to decay in a few years.

A tract of ground not larger than Dennis, with a soil so unproductive, would in an inland situation, be capable of supporting few inhabitants. But, when the census was taken in 1800, there were found on it fourteen hundred souls.

souls. A great number of these persons derive their subsistence from the sea; and by the advantages which they enjoy, and their industry in improving them, are enabled to supply themselves with all the necessaries, and many of the pleasures of life.

These inhabitants occupy a hundred and eighty-eight dwelling houses; the greatest part of which are neat and in good repair. On the north of the county road are eighty-eight of the houses, thirty of which are two stories in height. They are divided into two villages by Scargo hill.

The village in the north-west quarter of the township, situated between the hill and Yarmouth, is called Nobscusset.* It consists of fifty-two dwelling houses and the old meeting house, a neat and convenient building without a steeple. Sumner's Lodge of free masons, instituted the last year, have just erected near the meeting house a handsome edifice, forty feet by twenty, the upper apartment of which is a well finished hall, and the lower apartment a school room. Masonry in this, and in the other towns of the county where lodges exist, is in good repute, the brethren being in general respectable both for their property and moral characters. There are also two windmills near the meeting house; five more mills being in others quarters of the township. Belonging to this village are five sail of fishermen and three coasters, from thirty to forty tons. The lower road from Yarmouth to Harwich passes through Nobscusset. It is deep and heavy; and there is little on the sides of it to please the eye, the land appearing barren, and the wind having made great ravages on the hills which border the village.

The village of Suet† is situated between Scargo hill and Harwich. It contains thirty-six dwelling houses, which stand on Suet and Quivet necks and the land adjacent; and belonging to it are five sail of fishermen. When compared with Nobscusset, it may be denominated a pleasant village; but in comparison with the village of Sandwich, there is little or no beauty in it. It is a flourishing place; and

* Or Nobsquassit. See Vol. 1. p. 197. Coll. Hist. Soc.

† Or Sesuet. See Vol. 1. p. 232. Coll. Hist. Soc.

and what contributes principally to its prosperity is its numerous and valuable salt works.

Within the course of the past thirty years frequent attempts have been made to manufacture marine salt from sea water. During the late war with Great Britain, when this necessary article was scarce and dear, it was sometimes produced, particularly in the county of Barnstable, by boiling the salt water. But the salt obtained was impure; and as the operation was expensive, it was discontinued at the peace. Several years ago, General Palmer, a worthy and enterprising gentleman, undertook to make salt by the sun alone in the marshes on Boston neck, where the vestiges of his works are still to be seen. But as they were not covered from the rain, the attempt proved abortive. The only person who has been completely successful in obtaining pure marine salt, by the rays of the sun alone, without the aid of artificial heat, is Capt. John Sears of Suet.

In the year 1776, this ingenious seaman constructed a vat a hundred feet long and ten feet wide. Rafters were fixed over it; and shutters were contrived to move up and down, that the vat might be covered, when it rained, and exposed to the heat of the sun in fair weather. By this simple invention the rain was excluded, the water in the vat was gradually exhaled; and at length, to his inexpressible joy, Capt. Sears perceived the salt beginning to chrystallize. His works however were leaky; and he had such bad success in his operations the first year, that he was able to obtain no more than eight bushels of salt. He was exposed besides to the ridicule of his neighbours, who scoffed at his invention, styling it Sears's Folly.

Capt. Sears persevered. The second year the works were made tight; and thirty bushels of salt were obtained. In this and the third year the salt water was poured into the vat from buckets; a tedious and painful operation.

In the fourth year a pump was introduced: it was worked by hand, which was still great labour. This method of conveying the salt water into the vat continued to be practised till the year 1785, when at the suggestion of Major Nathaniel Freeman of Harwich, who had seen at a distance a similar construction, Capt. Sears contrived

trived a pump to be worked by the wind. By this lucky invention the labour was greatly abridged.

Covers to move on shives, that is, rollers or small wheels, such as are contained in the blocks of ships, were invented by Mr. Reuben Sears, a carpenter of Harwich, in 1793. These covers are shaped like the roof of a barn, or what is commonly styled a gable roof. The shive, which is placed under the cover, rolls over a narrow piece of plank fixed across the vat; and the motion is farther facilitated by shives moving on each side of the same slip of plank horizontally, the first mentioned shive moving perpendicularly. When the cover is drawn off, which can be done without a great exertion of strength, it rests on a frame placed by the side of the vat.

In 1798, Mr. Hattil Kelley of Dennis contrived another mode of constructing the vats and moving the covers. By Mr. Sears they are placed in a string, or direct line; but by Mr. Kelley they are placed like the squares of a chess-board. Two black squares will represent the first and second vats. At the point where their angles touch is fixed a crane, consisting of a perpendicular beam, supporting a horizontal beam. From each half of the last beam is suspended a cover, shaped like a hipped roof, that is, a roof composed of four triangles, rising from each of the four sides, and meeting in a point at the top. The third vat will be represented by the white square, which is in a line with the second black square of the chess-board: and the fourth vat, by the white square, the angle of which touches it. At this point is fixed a second crane; and so the vats and cranes are continued to any extent the proprietor chooses. By these cranes the covers are moved with great ease. It is a subject of dispute, which is the best invention, Sears's or Kelley's: experience only can decide the point.

Capt. Sears was greatly assisted in the invention and improvement of the works by Capt. William Crowell, Capt. Christopher Crowell, and Capt. Edward Sears of Dennis. These persons resigning to him their right and title to the invention, he applied to the national government for a patent, which he obtained in 1799.

Such is the account which Capt. Sears himself gives. It is now alleged by several persons, that he has not made a new

new discovery; and consequently has no right to a patent. But whatever may be thought of Capt. Sears's merit as an inventor, there can be no dispute that he is entitled to applause for first introducing an important manufacture, by which he has contributed greatly to the prosperity of the village in which he resides, and to that of the county at large; and which will probably in the event be productive of lasting advantages to Massachusetts, and to the United States in general.

The salt works in their present state may be briefly described as follows. The bottom of the vats is constructed of boards; and the sides of plank; and they rest on frames, which are supported by small piles. These vats are divided into three or four rooms, the second falling three or four inches below the first, and the third as much below the second, and so on. A pipe, which runs under ground, and which communicates with the sea, conveys the salt water into a well about four feet deep. In this well is fixed a pump, which is connected, by means of a spout, with the first vat, called the water room. In this vat, which is longer than any of the others, much filth is deposited. After a proper time the water is drawn off into the second vat, called the pickle room, in which calcareous matter, or lime, is deposited. If there are four vats, the third is named the lime room. In this vat, or in the second, when there are no more than three, a pellicle of salt begins to gather on the surface of the water, lime is plentifully deposited, and the pickle is drawn off into the last vat, called the salt room, in which only the crystals are permitted to be formed.* The vats are nine or ten inches deep. In dry weather, during the summer, with a north wind, the evaporation is a third of an inch in a day. The salt produced resembles Lisbon salt, but is purer, is strong, and free from lime. The mean weight of a bushel of it is eighty pounds.

During

* It was the writer's intention to have given a more minute description of the salt works; but discovering that Dr. James Thatcher of Plymouth had anticipated him, in a paper presented to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, he with pleasure foregoes the task, referring the reader, who wishes to obtain complete information, to the valuable memoir of that gentleman.

During the winter the Glauber salt, said to be of an excellent quality, crystallizes. No great quantity of Epsom salt and magnesia has yet been produced. The Rev. Mr. Briggs of Chatham, an industrious and ingenious chemist, has however succeeded in obtaining both; and though his magnesia is not perfectly white, his Epsom salt appears to be incapable of improvement.

As the vat first constructed by Capt. Sears was ten feet wide, in estimating the dimensions of salt works, it has become customary to adopt the language which was then introduced. A foot therefore intends ten square feet. Three hundred such feet are calculated to produce a hundred bushels of marine salt, and four hundred and fifty pounds of Glauber salt, in a year. The cost of a foot, three years ago, was a dollar; but it will amount at present to as much as a hundred and twenty, or even a hundred and fifty cents. The marine salt is worth seventy-five cents a bushel, and the Glauber salt one sixteenth of a dollar a pound. The value of the Epsom salt and magnesia is not estimated, as the quantity which may be obtained is unknown. From these data and the following table, the great importance of this new manufacture to the county of Barnstable will appear.

| | *No. of works.* | | *No. of feet.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| In Suet are | 24 | containing | 19,500 |
| Nobscusset | 23 | | 14,300 |
| Yarmouth | 4 | | 16,630 |
| Barnstable | 14 | | 11,717 |
| Sandwich | 4 | | 2,702 |
| Falmouth | 4 | | 1,900 |
| Harwich | 21 | | 18,600 |
| Chatham | 6 | | 11,500 |
| Orleans | 11 | | 3,080 |
| Eastham | 12 | | 9,100 |
| Wellfleet | 2 | | 180 |
| Truro | 1 | | 700 |
| Provincetown | 10 | | 11,404 |
| *Total,* | 136 | | 121,313 |

Calculated

Calculated to manufacture in a year forty thousand, four hundred, and thirty-eight bushels of marine salt; and one hundred and eighty-one thousand, nine hundred and sixty-nine pounds of glauber salt; worth, in the whole, forty-one thousand, seven hundred dollars.

In the ensuing year, will be erected, in the county of Barnstable, twenty thousand, five hundred and seventy-eight feet of additional works. These are all intended; and for many of them contracts are actually made. What additions there will be in future years, it is impossible to foresee; but they will undoubtedly be great. Without the limits of the county of Barnstable, the manufacture is already established in Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, Plymouth, Kingston, Rochester, Hingham, Dorchester, and probably in other places, from which the author has not heard. Few of these works have existed more than two or three years.

But it is time to conclude the description of Dennis. On the south side of the county road are a hundred dwelling houses; two of which only are two stories in height. The greatest part of these houses are situated near Bass river, and constitute a well-built village, the inhabitants of which are increasing in wealth and population. In the year 1795, they erected an elegant meeting house, with a steeple; but they continue their connexion with the parish, the minister of which preaches here one Sunday in three. There is besides a small Quaker meeting house, situated on the east side of Follen's pond. Five families only in Dennis belong to it; but it is attended by a few Friends from Yarmouth and Harwich. There are also thirteen families of Baptists in this village. The rest of the inhabitants, in every part of the township, are Congregationalists, who are warmly attached to their pastor, and not disposed to change.

There are no salt works yet in Bass river village; but it is expected that several will soon be erected. The inhabitants own ninteen sail of fishermen of about forty tons burthen each, and four coasters. Three small wharves have been built on this eastern side of the river.

Dennis enjoys the advantage of a great variety and plenty of fish in common with the other towns in the county.

county. There are sea perch in Bass river. Bass enter this river in November, and remain there, and in Follen's pond through the winter. Eels may be caught in all the creeks; but they are found in the greatest abundance in Follen's pond and Bass river. In the same pond and in Wear-mill brook, about a hundred barrels of alewives are taken in a year. Clams are plenty, particularly on the south shore, where quahaugs also are found, and a few good oysters. Sufficient clam bait for the fishing vessels is collected in the river: and about fifty barrels are annually sold.

On the north shore there are wild fowls; but they are not as plenty as in Chatham.

The climate is healthful. Bilious and nervous disorders, rheumatism, and pulmonary consumption are the most common diseases.

A bill of mortality has not been obtained; but the following table exhibits the number of marriages from March 1794 to March 1802.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1794 | 12 | 1798 | 14 |
| 1795 | 17 | 1799 | 23 |
| 1796 | 18 | 1800 | 22 |
| 1797 | 32 | 1801 | 14 |
| | | Total | 152 |

The history of Dennis is short. In the year 1721, the east part of Yarmouth was set off as a precinct*; and June 19. 1793, it was incorporated into a town.

The church was gathered, and the first pastor, Rev. Josiah Dennis, was ordained, June 22d. 1727. Mr. Dennis died August 31st. 1763, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. The inhabitants have manifested their respect to his memory by naming their town after him.

The present pastor, Rev. Nathan Stone, was ordained October 17th. 1764. *Vir humilis, mitis, blandus, advenarum hospes; suis commodis in terrâ non studens, reconditis thesauris in cælo.* *r. s.*

* Vol. 5. p. 54. Coll. Hist. Soc.

## Note on the South Parts of Yarmouth and Barnstable. September, 1802.

On the Yarmouth side of Bass river there are six wharves, three near the mouth of the river, and three a mile north of it. There are here twenty-one vessels. One brig sails immediately to the West-Indies. Ten coasters, from thirty to forty tons burden, sail to Boston, Connecticut, or the Southern States, and thence to the West-Indies. The other ten vessels are fishermen. One is of a hundred tons: the rest are from forty to seventy tons. The fishing vessels go to the straits of Belle-Isle, the shoals of Nova Scotia, or Nantucket shoals. On a medium, a fishing vessel uses seven hundred bushels of salt in a year. One or two vessels are annually built on Bass river, chiefly on the western side.

In Lewis's bay in Yarmouth, there are four coasters, of about forty-five tons each, and ten sail of fishermen, from forty-five to fifty tons: They catch fish on the coast, from Nantucket shoals to Nova Scotia.

On the Barnstable side of Lewis's bay there are nine sail of fishermen, of about forty tons each, which also fish on the same coast; likewise four coasters, of about forty-five tons each.

At Oyster Island there is one fishing vessel of forty tons, and eight coasters of about forty-five tons each.

These facts, in addition to those which have been already, and which will hereafter be, mentioned in this volume, show the present flourishing state of the south shore of the county of Barnstable, a part of Massachusetts not often visited, and little known. *T. S.*

## Note on the South Precinct of Harwich, in the County of Barnstable. September, 1802.

The south precinct of Harwich, which is situated between Dennis and Chatham, is naturally separated from the north precinct by woods and ponds. The land is level and sandy. On this part of the coast there is neither

ther a harbour nor a creek, into which vessels can enter. The only shelter that they have, is a bar, which lies the length of the precinct, two thirds of a mile from the shore. On this bar are from seven to nine feet of water, in common tides. North of it the depth is nine feet at full sea; but there are many holes, in which the water is a little deeper. Fifteen or twenty vessels, containing on an average forty tons each, and about half of them owned in the precinct, are employed in the shoal fishery on the coast. Four vessels of a hundred tons each, which go to the banks of Newfoundland and the Straits of Belle-Isle, sail also from this place, and obtain their men here. The whole number of men and boys engaged in the cod-fishery is about two hundred; but several of them sail from Chatham, Bass river, and the north precinct. Two miles and a half, west of the Chatham line, there is a salt water pond, twenty feet deep, and a hundred and eighty rods in circumference. It is not more than two hundred yards from the shore, in which part there is one of the deep holes. About half the year the sea flows into the pond; and a small boat can then enter it. At an inconsiderable expense, perhaps ten thousand dollars, this pond might be converted into a safe and convenient harbour.

It is remarkable, that not long after marine salt began to be made in Dennis, by the sun alone, Mr. Amiel Weeks of this precinct, without the knowledge of Capt. Sears's invention, constructed a vat, about eight feet long, and six wide, from twelve to fourteen inches deep, and with a cover to exclude the rain. In this vat he manufactured salt for his own consumption; and continued the practice a number of years. The water was brought a mile, the salt was very impure, and no improvement was made in the first essay. *r. s.*

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## A Description of Chatham, in the County of Barnstable. September, 1802.

CHATHAM lies in latitude 41°. 42′. N. and longitude 69°. 56′. W. from Greenwich. The length of the township, east and west, exclusive of the harbour, is four miles; and the breadth, north and south, from two miles to four.

four. It is bounded east by the ocean; south, by Vineyard Sound; west and north-west, by Harwich; and north by Pleasant bay, which separates it from Orleans. The distance of the meeting house from Boston is ninety-three miles; from Barnstable court house, twenty miles; and from the meeting house in the north parish of Harwich, eight miles.

The township consists of hills and ridges, with narrow vallies, small depressions, ponds, and swamps between them. As the hills are nearly of the same height, and the vallies at a short distance are not perceived, the land appears like an elevated plain. Great Hill which is a third of a mile east of the meeting house, towers above the rest of the township. This is the first land made by seamen coming on this part of the coast. From its two summits there is an extensive prospect; and even Nantucket is visible, when the land looms. The tops of the ridges and smaller hills also command a fine view of the sea.

There are two principal roads in Chatham; the first, leading through the south precinct of Harwich, to Barnstable; the other, to the north precinct of Harwich. From this second road branches a third, which passes through Orleans to Cape Cod. These roads are sandy; but they are better than those of Wellfleet or Truro.

Few towns in the county are so well provided with harbours as Chatham. The first and most important is on the eastern side of the town, and is called Old harbour. It is formed by a narrow beach, which completely guards it against the ocean. The haven on the western side of this beach is extensive; but the harbour of Chatham is supposed to reach not farther north than Strong island, a distance of about four miles. Above that the water, which is within the limits of Harwich and Orleans, is known by other names. The breadth of the harbour is about three quarters of a mile. Its entrance, a quarter of a mile wide, is formed by the point of the beach, and James' head east of it on the main land. On the inside of the beach are flats and salt marsh. There is also a piece of marsh on the southern part of Strong island. These marshes are covered during every tide.

There are no rocks either within or near the harbour; but its mouth is obstructed by bars, which extend east and south-east

south-east of the point of the beach three quarters of a mile. On each side of this mouth is a breaker; one called the North; and the other, the South breaker. There are also several bars in the harbour within the outer bars. These bars are continually shifting: the causes of which are storms, and a strong current, which sets in and out of the harbour. At low water there are seven feet on the outer bars, common tides rising about six feet. North of them the shore is bolder. There is good holding ground in the harbour. At the entrance the bottom is sandy. Farther in there is a muddy bottom. The depth at low water is about twenty feet.

Not only do the bars alter, but the mouth of the harbour also is perpetually varying. At present it is gradually moving southward by the addition of sand to the point of the beach. The beach has thus been extended, above a mile, within the course of the past forty years.

In the year 1626, there was an entrance into Monamoyick harbour, opposite Potanumaquut, six miles north of the present mouth. The ship mentioned by Prince* came in here, and was stranded on the beach, where its ruins were to be seen about twenty years ago. This part of the beach still bears the name of the Old ship. The entrance has been closed for many years. Several passages into the harbour have been opened and shut since that time. At a late period, there were two openings into the haven; one of which, that which now exists, was styled the Old harbour; and the other, the New harbour.† Though the mouth of the New harbour is entirely choked up with sand, yet the name, Old harbour, is still retained.

It is not easy to give directions for sailing into so inconstant a port. None but a pilot, who is well acquainted with its yearly variations, can guide in a vessel with safety. On a signal's being made, however, boats are ready to put off from the shore, to yield assistance. In a north-east storm, in which a pilot cannot leave the land, a vessel, by getting to the south of the South breaker, may at present ride with safety. But how long this will be true, it is impossible to say.

The

* Annals, p. 163. See also Morton's Memorial, p. 89. A. D. 1627.

† See Des Barres' accurate chart of the coast.

The principal business of the town is done near Old harbour. To this it is well suited, not only by its proximity to the ocean, its superiour extent, but also by the convenient coves and creeks, with which its western shore is indented, bringing a harbour within a short distance of every man's door. The names of the principal, or of the points which form them, follow. South of Harwich line is Monamesset neck, which is bounded on the north by Pleasant bay: the east end of it is opposite Strong island. South of this neck is Eldridge point. Between the point and neck is situated Crowell bay. South of Eldridge point is Eldridge cove. South-east of this cove is Covel's river, a salt water creek, at the head of which is a small body of marsh. East of Covel's river is Muscle point; south-east of Muscle point is Nickerson's point; and south of Nickerson's point is Morris's cove, which is separated from the harbour by Little beach.

Not far south from James' head commences a long beach, the extremity of which at present is called Sandy point; but in ancient maps, Cape Malebarre. As there is also a Sandy point in Nantucket, to prevent confusion, the old name ought to be revived. This beach is described in another part of the volume.* The following particulars are added here. Stewart's Knoll is so denominated from a person of that name, who forty or fifty years since kept a tavern on it, for the accommodation of seamen making a harbour on the western side of the beach. The house stood at no great distance from the point, though at present the knoll is at least four miles from it. In the valley which is south of it, and which has been gained from the sea, there is a doubtful appearance of a soil's beginning to be formed. It is styled *doubtful*, because it would not be observed by every eye, and perhaps not acknowledged by many. Beach grass, the beach pea†, beach ivy, and the several

* See Description of the Eastern Coast of the County of Barnstable, p. 117.

† A young gentleman, a native of Truro, has communicated to the author the following note on the beach pea.

"Pisum maritimum. (Lin. 870.) With. p. 629. V. 3. Petioles flattish above: stem angular: stipules arrow shaped: fruit stalks many flowered. Whole plant, excepting the upper surface of the leaves, slightly

several other vegetables, which obtain nourishment amidst the minute fragments of stone which constitute sand, grow here luxuriantly. The roots of plants, which have grown here in past years, seem to have rotted by the frequent rains that have fallen on them; and a solitary pine, which is not yet two feet high, has already found its way hither. Perhaps the whole beach, if untrodden by the feet of man and beast, would at the end of a few centuries be covered with wood, and in time with vegetable mould.

On the western side of this beach there are pieces of salt marsh, the greatest part of which are around Morris's island and west of it. As the wind is perpetually driving the sand over them, they are diminishing every year.—Whilst the marsh is wasting in one place, it is true that spots are gradually forming in others. But, on the whole, it loses more than it gains: formerly it was so extensive, that a hundred and fifty tons of hay were annually cut on it; but at present it does not yield more than sixty tons.

Morris's island was once surrounded by water; and the passage between it and the beach was a quarter of a mile wide, in the year 1752. The strait was gradually filled up, and has been entirely closed above thirty years. Whilst this junction has been making, the beach has wasted on its eastern side; so that now the island, as it is still denominated, is nearer to the ocean, than it was formerly to the eastern side of the strait. At the same period there was, from

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slightly downy: root creeping striking deep in the earth. Leaves numerous alternate: Flowers towards the end of the fruit stalks, crowded, on short pedicles. Blossoms pale red and purple.

Sea pea. Sea shores. Flowers in August.

(Found by Mr. Stackhouse on the sharp ridge running from Portland Island to Bridport, amongst loose pebbles, about fifteen or twenty feet above high water mark, &c.) (With. p. 630. V. 3.)

"In 1555, during a time of great scarcity, the people about Orford in Sussex were preserved from perishing by eating the seeds of this plant, which grew there in great abundance upon the sea coast. Cows, horses, sheep, and goats eat it.

"Dr. Cutler describes this as a plant of New England (in Memoirs Am. Acad. Vol. 1. p. 472.) So that I think there is no doubt of its being the same that grows on the sandy beaches of Cape Cod."

That the seeds of the beach pea are edible, is the opinion of several persons in the county of Barnstable; but the author cannot learn that any of them have ever made the experiment.

from Old harbour into Stage harbour, a passage, through which vessels might sail, the beach being then an island; but for above thirty years it has joined the main land.

Another change has taken place in this voluble mass of sand. In the year 1770, during a violent storm, the sea rushed through the beach. But by degrees the breach then made was filled up with sand, and in two years was completely closed.*

On the west side of Cape Malebarre, in the south part of Chatham, is another harbour, called Stage harbour; which is about a mile long, and a half of a mile wide. The entrance into it, which is about a quarter of a mile in breadth, is between Morris's island and Harding's beach or neck, which runs from the west. It is barred, there being not more than eight feet in the mouth at high water, common tides rising here four feet; but within there are twenty feet at low water. The anchorage is good, on a muddy bottom. This, as well as Old harbour, is completely land locked.

Oyster pond, about three quarters of a mile long, and a half of a mile broad, communicates with Stage harbour by Oyster pond river. There are six feet of water in this river at high tides; and vessels which draw five feet only can go into the pond.

North-east of Stage harbour, and communicating with it by Mitchel's river, is Mill cove. Connected with the cove is Mill pond, on which is a piece of salt marsh. East of Mill cove is Tom's neck.

There is good anchorage for large vessels on the outside of Stage harbour, south of Harding's beach, close to the shore, opposite a bunch of pines.

A mile

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* The following remarkable fact of the same kind is related by a respectable writer.

"When the English first settled upon the Cape, there was an island off Chatham, at three leagues distance, called Webb's island, containing twenty acres, covered with red cedar or savin. The inhabitants of Nantucket used to carry wood from it. This island has been wholly worn away for almost a century. A large rock, that was upon the island, and which settled as the earth washed away, now marks the place: it rises as much above the bottom of the sea, as it used to rise above the surface of the ground. The water is six fathoms deep on this spot."

Mass. Mag. Vol. 3. p. 151.

A mile and a half west of Stage harbour is Cockle cove river; navigable for flat boats only, and communicating with a salt pond north of it. On it is a small body of salt marsh.

West is Tumblen's cove, which also communicates with a salt pond, named by the Indians Matchapoxet. This cove is very shoal.

Proceeding still west is Red river, a small stream, navigable by boats only, forming the boundary between Chatham and Harwich. On both sides of it is salt marsh. These inlets are not far asunder, Red river being not more than a mile from Cockle cove.

Beside the salt water ponds which have been mentioned, there are not less than thirty ponds of fresh water. Fish are plenty in them; but not being as highly esteemed as those which are caught in the sea, they are not much used. Their bottoms in general are sandy; and they supply those, who live near them, with good water. There are also many springs of excellent water, though there are no brooks. Soft water is obtained from the wells, few of which are more than twelve feet deep.

There is a number of small swamps, several of which have been cleared, and converted into pastures and meadows. From these swamps, within the past five years, considerable quantities of peat have been dug.

Not a fruit tree grows in Chatham; and not more than sixty-five acres of woodland are left. It is situated near the line of Harwich, and consists principally of pitch pine. The greatest part of the fuel, which is consumed, is brought from the district of Maine; and costs at present about seven dollars a cord. Five cords of wood are considered as a sufficient yearly stock for a family.

The soil of the township is in general sandy and free from stones. There is good land, however, near Oyster pond and the coves. Very little English hay is cut; but the marshes yield salt hay enough for the use of the inhabitants. Butter is made in summer; but butter for winter and cheese are procured from Connecticut, Rhode-Island, and Boston. Beef and provisions of all kinds for the fishermen are brought from the last mentioned place. Not more than half enough Indian corn for the consumption of

of the inhabitants is raised : the average produce to an acre is twelve bushels. Rye, the average produce of which is six bushels, is raised in the same proportion. Thirty years ago a small quantity of wheat was grown ; but at present it is wholly neglected. There are many good gardens, in which a sufficient quantity of roots and herbs are produced. The mode of husbandry is in general similar to that which is practised in Truro.* Materials for manure might be procured in plenty by those, who live near the shore. Attention of late begins to be paid to this article. As the land, particularly in the centre and south part of the township, is every year growing worse, by the drifting of the sand, there is little to encourage agricultural industry. The inhabitants, having to pursue other objects, which they deem more important, do not avail themselves of all the advantages that they possess for the improvement of their grounds. Besides sea weed and the king crab on their shores, there are also spots which contain clay,† a well known fertilizer of a sandy soil. But husbandry is pursued with little spirit, the people in general passing the flower of their lives at sea, which they do not quit till they are fifty years of age, leaving at home none but the old men and small boys to cultivate the ground.

A few of the young and middle aged men are engaged in mercantile voyages, and sail from Boston ; but the great body of them are fishermen. Twenty-five schooners, from twenty-five to seventy tons, are employed in the cod-fishery. They are partly owned in Boston and other places, but principally in Chatham. About one half of them fish on the banks of Newfoundland ; the rest on Nantucket shoals, the shores of Nova Scotia, and in the straits of Belle-Isle. On board these schooners are about two hundred men and boys, most of whom are inhabitants of Chatham ; and they catch one year with another seven or eight hundred quintals to a vessel. Beside these fishing vessels, there are belonging to the town five coasters, which sail to Carolina and the West Indies.

Fish

* See Vol. 3. p. 198. Coll. Hist. Soc

† Bricks are seldom made in Chatham.

Fish are plenty on the coast. In addition to those, which are enumerated in the description of Truro, are the sheep's head, drummer, shad, and tautaug.

Shell fish are found in great abundance on the shores, particularly quahaugs and clams. Great quantities of bait are dug for the use of the fishermen. There are excellent oysters in Oyster pond ; but they are scarce and dear, selling for a dollar a bushel.

In no part of the country can wild fowls be obtained in such plenty and variety.

Food can so easily be procured, either on the shores or in the sea, that with the profit which arises from their voyages, in which it must be confessed they labour very hard, the people are enabled to cover their tables well with provisions. A breakfast among the inhabitants, and even among those who are called the poorest, for there are none who are really poor, consists of tea or coffee, brown bread, generally with butter, sometimes without, and salt or fresh fish, fried or broiled. A dinner affords one or more of the following dishes : roots and herbs ; salted beef or pork boiled ; fresh butcher's meat not more than twelve times a year ; wild fowl frequently in the autumn and winter ; fresh fish boiled or fried with pork ; shell fish ; salt fish boiled ; indian pudding, pork baked with beans. Tea or coffee also frequently constitutes a part of the dinner. A supper consists of tea or coffee and fish as at breakfast, cheese, cakes made of flour, gingerbread, and pies of several sorts. This bill of fare will serve with little variation for all the fishing towns in the county. In many families there is no difference between the breakfast and supper ; cheese, cakes, and pies being as common at the one as at the other.

Chatham contains more inhabitants in proportion to its extent, than any other township in the county : by the census of 1800, there were thirteen hundred and fifty-one souls ; and they have increased a little since that time. The number of dwelling houses, as returned in the valuation of the last year, is an hundred and fifty-eight. They are small, four only being two stories in height. The meeting house, near the centre of the township, is in good repair. There are five schools, in which reading, writing, and

and arithmetick are taught to children of both sexes: education is encouraged. The other buildings are a rope-walk, a tan-house, a number of barns, and six windmills.

The inhabitants are very industrious. The women are engaged in the domestick employments and manufactures usual in other parts of Massachusetts, and a number of them in curing fish at the flake yards.

Fogs are more frequent in Chatham than in any other part of the county; and they serve in summer, instead of trees, to shelter the houses against the heat of the sun. To those who delight in extensive vision, they are unpleasant; but they are not found to be unhealthful. The air of the township is justly regarded as very salubrious: one proof of which is, that there is not sufficient employment for a physician. Epidemick distempers, it is true, have sometimes visited the place; but not more frequently than other towns in the county. In the year 1764 the small-pox carried off a great number of persons.

Monamoy*, as the settlement was during many years denominated, is one of the original plantations of the county, not being formed out of other towns. April 10th. 1665, William Nickerson bought of John Quason, alias Towsowet, sachem of Monamoy, a tract of land near Potanumaquut; bounded east by the Great harbour; south by a line, which extends west by south into the woods, from Wequaset to a pine tree† marked upon four sides; and north by a line extending to the farther head of a pond, to a place called Porchcommock. June 19th. 1672, Mattaquason and John Quason, sachems of Monnamoiet, for the consideration of one shallop, ten coats of trucking cloth, six kettles, twelve axes, twelve hoes, twelve knives, forty shillings in wampum, a hat, and twelve shillings in money,—sold to the same William Nickerson a tract of land and meadows at Monnamoiet, at the west side of Muddy cove, and extending southerly to Matchapoxet pond, and thence by a creek to the sea; and extending easterly

* So is the name pronounced at present; but in ancient books and records it is written Monnamoiet, or Monamoyick.

† Near the cart way, which goes from Chatham to Saukatucket mill in Harwich.

easterly to Oyster pond.* Again, March 29th. 1678,† August 16th. 1682, and at divers other times, he purchased lands and meadows of the Indians.

In the year 1665, Thomas Hinkley, John Freeman, Nathaniel Bacon, and their partners, obtained from the colony court of Plymouth the grant of a right to purchase, of the natives, land at Monnamoiet and places adjacent. This interfered with the property of Nickerson, who had made several of his purchases without previously procuring such a grant, which was necessary to render his title valid. But on the 3d. of July, 1672, Hinkley and his associates, for a valuable consideration, conveyed to Nickerson their grant, and all the lands which they had bought in consequence of it. This made his title good; and it was afterwards confirmed to his heirs by the legislature.‡

After the settlement of the village or district of Monamoy, which appears to have been not long after the purchases were made, it was considered as one of the towns in the colony; for in June, 1686, it was ordered to choose a grand-juryman§; and on the 11th. of February, 1691, liberty was granted to its inhabitants to elect and send a deputy to the general court.‖ In the ensuing March the bounds of the village were enlarged. This was the last act of the colony court of Plymouth respecting it.¶

It was incorporated into a township, by the legislature of Massachusetts, and its name altered to that of Chatham, June 11th. 1712.

Eight years after the incorporation, the inhabitants had become

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* Plymouth Records, Lib. 12. Fol. 251.

† Plym. Rec. Lib. 16. Fol. 463.

‡ The family of Nickerson is one of the most numerous in the county; and a number of the name remain in Chatham.

§ At a colony court held at Plymouth in June, 1686, Plymouth was ordered by said court to choose three grand-jurymen; Duxborough two; Scituate four; Marshfield three; Bridgewater two; Middleborough one; Barnstable three; Yarmouth three; Sandwich three; Eastham three; Monnamoiet one; Succonessett one; Sippecan one; Bristol three; Taunton three; Rehoboth three; Dartmouth two; Swanzey two; Little Compton one; Freetown one. Plym. Rec. Lib. N. Fol. 1.

‖ Plym. Rec. Lib. N. Fol. 52.

¶ Plym. Rec. Lib. N. Fol. 56.

become so numerous as to be able to support a settled minister of the gospel. No particular account, however, of their numbers can be obtained till the year 1764. From the census which was then taken, it appears that there were a hundred and five dwelling houses, a hundred and twenty-seven families, and six hundred and seventy-seven souls; but it is remarkable, that though above five hundred Indians remained in the county, yet not one was left in Chatham.* From comparing the census of 1764 with that of 1800, it appears that the number of the inhabitants has doubled in thirty-eight years. That it has not increased more is owing to the frequent emigrations which have been made during this period.

In the year 1774, Chatham had become so flourishing a town, that it employed twenty-seven vessels in the cod-fishery.

Another census was taken in 1776, when there were found in Chatham a hundred and sixty-five families, and nine hundred and thirty souls.

The town suffered greatly by the revolutionary war. Many of the men were captivated by the enemy, and died in prison ships. In the year 1783, four or five vessels only were left in the harbours; but the town was filled with widows, mourning the loss of their husbands and sons. With the return of peace, the fishery revived, the tears of the wretched were wiped away; and since that period the inhabitants have been increasing in wealth and population.†

The names and succession of the pastors will conclude the description of Chatham. June 15th. 1720, the church was

* There is not an Indian now in Chatham.

† A traveller who visited Chatham in the year 1790, and who observed every object with an accurate eye, informs the publick, that forty vessels were then employed in the cod-fishery. It would appear therefore, at first view, that the number of vessels, as it is not more than twenty-five at present, has diminished during the past twelve years. The truth is, that the inhabitants of Chatham did not, in 1790, own forty fishermen; but at that period, a number of vessels, which with their crews wholly belonged to other places, came into the harbour of Chatham, and the fish which they brought was cured on its shores. See Mass. Mag. Vol. 3. p. 74.

was first gathered, and Rev. Joseph Lord ordained. He died June 6th. 1748. Rev. Stephen Emery was installed May 17th. 1749, and died May 24th. 1782. Rev. Thomas Roby was ordained October 22d. 1783, and dismissed at his request October 22d. 1795. The present pastor, Rev. Ephraim Briggs, was ordained July 20th. 1796. *Seip, sepoese, sepoemese, wechekum.* *r. s.*

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## A Description and History of Eastham, in the County of Barnstable. September. 1802.

EASTHAM is situated in latitude 41°. 51′. N. and longitude 69°. 56′. W. from Greenwich. Its distance from Boston, following the road, is ninety-four miles; from Plymouth, the capital of the Old Colony, fifty-two; and from Barnstable, the shire town, twenty-two. The distance from Boston, in a straight line, is sixty-eight miles. It is bounded on the east by the Atlantick ocean; on the north by Wellfleet; on the west by Barnstable bay; and on the south and south-east by Orleans; from which it is separated by a line beginning at Rock harbour river, and running by various courses to Boat meadow river; thence running up the middle of the river to its head; thence running southerly, through the centre of the meadow, to a swamp; thence through the swamp, and along Jeremiah's gutter, into the middle of Town cove; thence running down the centre of the cove to Stone island; and thence running an east-south-east course into the Atlantick ocean. The length of the township is six miles; and the breadth, from two miles to two and a half.

In sailing from Race point south, the first opening into the beach, on the eastern side of the county of Barnstable, is found in Eastham. There is here a small harbour, called Nauset, or Stage harbour, the entrance of which is narrow and obstructed by a bar, on which are not more than eight feet of water at full sea. It is divided into two arms, one of which extends north, and the other south-west. The northern arm is shallow. A body of salt marsh, containing two hundred acres, lies in it, and is

is protected from the ocean by a narrow beach. The south-western arm, which is denominated Town cove, has fourteen feet in the deepest part, at high water, common tides. As it is completely secured against every wind, if a passage could be opened from it into the ocean, it would afford an excellent harbour; but this, it is conceived, is impossible, because if the channel was deepened by art, it would soon be choked up again with sand, driven into it by storms.

A sandy flat, a mile wide, extends along the western shore, from Suet to the bounds of Wellfleet. It is left dry about three hours, and may easily be crossed by horses and carriages. Of consequence there can be no good harbour on this side of the township. There are however several creeks, which at high water admit small vessels into them.

The first is Great meadow river, the mouth of which is situated south-west from the meeting house. East of it is a body of salt marsh.

About a half of a mile south of Great meadow river is Boat meadow river, which runs from the south-east. Its entrance lies south-south-west from the meeting house, and is eight feet deep at high water. A body of salt marsh extends from the mouth of this river to within four rods of Town cove, leaving a narrow ridge for a road. The marsh is not more than fifteen rods from the swamp, which is the head of Jeremiah's gutter; and as the land is low between them, in very high tides, the sea flows across from the bay to the ocean, completely insulating the northern part of the county.

About a half of a mile south of Boat meadow river is Rock harbour river; which will again be mentioned in the Description of Orleans.

Beside these creeks there are three brooks which empty themselves into the bay.

The first is Indian brook, which forms the boundary between Eastham and Wellfleet, and runs into the harbour of Silver springs.

Three quarters of a mile south of Indian brook is Cook's brook, which is dry half the year.

A mile

A mile south of Cook's brook is Snow's brook, which runs the greatest part of the year, but is very small.

Grape swamp, a mile south of Snow's brook, sometimes discharges water into the bay.

On the eastern side of the township, in the fertile tract, the road passes over a small stream, which contains fresh water at low tide.

Jeremiah's gutter may also be called a brook, though it is very narrow, and not more than fourteen rods in length.

As there is little room for these brooks to run, they are necessarily formed on a minute scale.

Fresh ponds are not numerous in Eastham, there being eight only. The most remarkable are Great pond and Long pond. Great pond is a quarter of a mile from the western shore. A communication was opened between it and the bay, for the purpose of suffering alewives to pass into it: it soon closed. A narrow neck, about forty feet wide, separates it from Long pond; the distance of which from Mill pond, connected with the northern arm of Nauset harbour, is not more than a furlong. Here those who think it as easy to dig through the land, as to mark a line on a map, will be disposed to cut a canal from the ocean to the bay. As the ground is generally low, the labour would not be great; but unfortunately the canal, if made, would not long exist.

The soil of the township is various. A large proportion is sandy and barren.* On the west side, a beach extends from the north line, near a half of a mile wide, till it comes to Great pond, where it stretches across the township almost to Town cove. This barren tract, which does not now contain a particle of vegetable mould, formerly produced wheat. The soil however was light. The sand in some places, lodging against the beach grass,† has been raised into hills fifty feet high, where twenty-five years ago no hills existed. In others it has filled up small vallies and swamps. Where a strong-rooted bush stood, the appearance is singular: a mass of earth and sand adheres to it, resembling a small tower. In several places rocks, which were

* See Mass. Mag. Vol. 3. p. 75.

† See Description of the Eastern Coast of the County of Barnstable, p. 110.

were formerly covered with soil, are disclosed ; and being lashed by the sand, driven against them by the wind, look as if they were recently dug from a quarry.

On the eastern side of the township, is a tract of about two hundred acres, equal, and by many supposed superiour, to any land in the county. Three cedar swamps on the west of it, three quarters of a mile in length, still guard it in a great measure against the irruptions of the sand. This good land will yield, with manure, thirty-five, and sometimes forty-five, bushels of Indian corn to an acre, and from twenty to thirty bushels of rye.

North of the fertile tract on the eastern side of Eastham, the land is light and sandy ; but, except for the distance of a half of a mile from the bounds of Wellfleet, is good for the lower part of the county. In this part of the township the greatest quantities of corn are grown.

As very little of the land is good for grass, the raising of grain is the principal business to which the farmers attend. More corn is produced than the inhabitants consume ; and above a thousand bushels, about half of which are sold in Wellfleet, are annually sent to market. Five and twenty years ago, three times this quantity was exported. The soil being free from stones, a plough passes through it speedily ; and after the corn has come up, a small Cape horse, somewhat larger than a goat, will, with the assistance of two boys, easily hoe three or four acres in a day. Several farmers are accustomed to produce five hundred bushels of grain annually ; and not long since, one of them raised eight hundred bushels, on sixty acres. This, however, was extraordinary, and may never be done again.

In Eastham and in Orleans a little wheat and flax are raised, particularly on the best land. The former is subject to be blasted in both townships. There is sufficient salt hay ; but very little English hay is cut in Eastham.

Except a tract of oaks and pines, adjoining the south line of Wellfleet, and which is about a mile and a half wide, no wood is left in the township. The forests were imprudently cut down many years ago ; and no obstacle being opposed to the fury of the wind, it has already covered with barrenness the large tract above described, and threatens

threatens the whole township with destruction. For the present its rage seems in some degree to be checked by enclosures and planting beach grass. These measures, if persevered in, though they may not retrieve the soil already lost, will guard the fertile grounds, which still flourish amidst a desert of sand.

The high land of Cape Cod, which begins at the Clay pounds in Truro, on which, in the year 1798, a light house was erected, terminates a mile north of Eastham. This township is chiefly a plain. There are a few rising grounds and vallies, particularly in the fertile tract. Most of the houses, being protected neither by hills nor woods, stand in bleak and exposed situations.

The county road from Harwich to Wellfleet passes over the barren sands ; and conveys to strangers, who are naturally induced to take this way, a worse opinion of Eastham than it deserves. Soon after entering on this scene of desolation, a road turns to the right, and leads over the good land. These two roads meet on the narrow neck, which lies between Long pond and Mill pond, where again they diverge, the road on the right hand being very good for this part of the county ; but in favour of the other nothing can be said, except that it is the shortest, and that it is not as bad as the roads of Wellfleet.

There are at present in Eastham a hundred and twenty-two families, who inhabit ninety-nine dwelling houses, seven of which only are two stories in height. The other buildings are, beside barns, two windmills, two school houses, and a meeting house, which this year has been enlarged and repaired.

There is no village in the township ; but several quarters of it are distinguished by appropriate appellations.

The north-east part retains the ancient Indian name, Nauset.

The north-west part, a little north of the centre of the township, is called Halfponds. It receives its name from two small ponds near it.

The part west of the meeting house, south of Great and Long ponds, and north of Great meadow, is denominated Great Neck ; which terminates in Mulford's cliff.

Three

Three fishing vessels only are owned by the inhabitants, and three coasters, which in summer bring lumber from the district of Maine, and in winter go to the West Indies. Not so many of the young men are engaged in the cod-fishery as in other lower towns of the county; but a number are employed in the merchants' service, and sail from Boston.

Fishes are the same as on other parts of the coast. By the act of incorporation, which separated Orleans from Eastham, the benefits of the shell-fishery are to be mutually shared. About a hundred barrels of clams for bait are annually collected in Eastham.

The climate does not differ materially from that of other parts of the county. Hysterick fits are very common in Orleans, Eastham, and the towns below, particularly on sunday, in the time of divine service. When one woman is affected, five or six others generally sympathize with her; and the congregation is thrown into the utmost confusion. Several old men suppose, unphilosophically and uncharitably perhaps, that the will is partly concerned, and that ridicule and threats would have a tendency to prevent the evil. Nervous disorders and the pulmonary consumption are also frequent in this place.

The territory constituting the old colony of Plymouth, before the arrival of the English, was possessed by a nation of Indians styled the Wamponoags or Pawkunnawkuts.* The Indians in the county of Barnstable were a distinct people; but they were subject in some respects to the chief sachem of the Wamponoags. Of these petty tribes, the Nauset Indians appear to have been the most important. They dwelt on the land, which the English afterwards settled by the name of Eastham; and their country extended from Nobscusset to Cape Cod, including Sawkatucket, Monamoyick, Potanumaquut, Pononakanit, Pamet,

* Gookin's Hist. Coll. of the Ind. in N. Eng. chap. II. § 4. The name of this nation is spelled in many different manners: Packanokik and Puckanokick, by Purchas; Pocanaket, by Morton, and Pockanockett, by his Continuator; Pacanokik, by Prince; and Pokanocket by Hutchinson. A similar disorder prevails in the orthography of other Indian names.

Pamet, and Meshawn.* The principal seats of the Nauset Indians were at Namskeket, within the limits of Orleans, and about the Cove, which divides this township from Eastham. At the latter place shell fish have always been plenty: food therefore could easily be obtained in abundance.†

Cape Cod being discovered by Gosnold in the year 1602, several English vessels after this period visited the coast. In 1614, Capt. John Smith, the celebrated navigator,‡ after touching at several places on the coast of New England, embarked for London, and left his ship under the command of Thomas Hunt, to load it with fish for Spain. After his lading was completed, and he was ready to sail, Hunt, under the pretence of trading with them, enticed into the ship twenty Indians from Patuxet, and seven from Nauset. He seized on these unsuspecting natives, confined them in the hold of the vessel, and carried them to Malaga; where he sold a number of them for twenty pounds a man; and would have disposed of the whole in the same way, if the monks of that city had not compassionately interfered, and rescued those who remained out of his hands.‖ This atrocious deed kindled in the hearts of the Indians a fire of hatred, which was not extinguished during many years. All farther attempts at commerce with them became in a high degree dangerous; and on sundry occasions they exercised on the Europeans the deepest revenge.§

In 1617, the country of the Pawkunnawkuts was nearly depopulated by the Great Plague.¶ The Nauset Indians, and other tribes east of Patuxet, appear in a great measure to have escaped the pestilence. In

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* Hutchinson. Vol. I. p. 459. 1st edit. Gookin. chap. VIII. § 2.

† The great numbers of broken shells remaining in the neighbourhood of this Cove prove that the territory was formerly well settled by the Indians.

‡ For an entertaining narrative of Capt. Smith's romantick adventures, see Belknap's Biography, Vol. I.

‖ I. Mather's Relation of Troubles in N. Eng. p. 2. Prince's Annals, p. 40. Mourt. 38.

§ Prince's Ann. p. 41, 45, 68. Belknap's Biog. Vol. II. p. 211. I. Mather's Relations, p. 4.

¶ Prince's Ann. p. 46.

In the month of November of the year 1620, the little band of adventurers, who settled the colony of Plymouth, arrived in the harbour of Cape Cod. On the 6th. of December they sent out their shallop with ten of their principal men, and eight or ten seamen, to coast round the bay, that they might discover a proper place for a settlement. Passing by Pamet river and Billingsgate point, they reached the bottom of the bay that night, and landed north of Great pond in Eastham.

Having employed the next day in examining the country, early in the morning of the 8th. of December, they were suddenly attacked by the Nauset Indians, instigated without doubt by the remembrance of Hunt's perfidy. Though they were successful in repelling the foe, they thought it necessary immediately to quit the coast; and sailing along the shore, that night they reached the harbour of Plymouth.*

They heard nothing farther of the Nauset Indians till the ensuing March, when they were informed by Samoset, the first native who visited them, that this tribe consisted of a hundred fighting men. A boy, John Billington, having lost himself in the woods, and being conveyed to Nauset, an opportunity was afforded of making peace with the Indians of this place. Accordingly ten men were sent by Governour Bradford, about the end of July, 1621, to recover the boy. They sailed first to the harbour of Cummaquid, where they were hospitably entertained by Iyanough, the sachem. Thence they proceeded to Nauset, Iyanough and two of his men accompanying them. The design of the embassy being made known to Aspinet, the chief sachem, the boy was restored and a peace concluded.†

Masassoit, the sachem of the Wamponoags, having, in September, acknowledged the king of England to be his master, the sachems of Nauset, Pamet, and Cummaquid, who were in subjection to him, submitted also to the same authority.‡ After

* Prince's Annals. p. 76—78. Morton's Memorial. p. 24—28. Belknap's Biog. Vol. II. Life of Carver.

† Prince's Annals. p. 107, 108. Mourt. 60.

‡ Prince's Ann. p. 112.

After this a friendly intercourse was maintained, for more than a year, between the English at Plymouth and the Indians of Nauset. Supplies of corn and beans were obtained of these natives by the colonists, who, in the summer of 1622, were reduced almost to a state of famine.* Trade was carried on between the two parties with fairness and honour; and the persons employed in the business were treated by the Indians with respect and kindness.†

But in the spring of 1623, the colonists received information from Masassoit, who continued faithful to them, that there was a conspiracy among the Indians, in which the sachems of Nauset and Pamet had joined, to extirpate the English. In consequence of this intelligence, Capt. Standish was dispatched to the bay of Massachusetts, were he put to death the principal conspirators. This prompt execution so terrified the rest of the natives, that they abandoned their houses, and concealed themselves in swamps; where they contracted diseases, by which many of them miserably perished. Among others, who fell victims to their fears, was Aspinet, the sachem of Nauset, and Iyanough, the courteous sachem of Cummaquid.‡

By these disasters the Nauset Indians were reduced and humbled. They probably soon returned, however, to an amicable correspondence with the English; for less than four years after the conspiracy, we find them again kindly assisting the English and selling them corn.‖

Though the English had settled eight towns in the colony of Plymouth during the first twenty years; yet no attempt had been made to begin a plantation in Nauset. In the year 1640, "the purchasers or old comers" of Plymouth colony obtained of the court the grant of a tract of land, from the bounds of Yarmouth three miles to the eastward of Namskeket, and across the neck from sea to sea.

* Prince's Ann. p. 118. Winslow. 16.

† Prince's Ann. p. 124. Belknap's Biog. Vol. II. p. 228. Winslow. 27.

‡ Prince's Ann. p. 129—133. Belknap's Biog. Vol. II. p. 230, 231. Winslow. 49, 59, 66.

‖ Prince's Ann. p. 164.

sea.* But no immediate use was made of it, nor was any township begun.

Three years after this grant, 1643, several members of the church of Plymouth became dissatisfied with their situation. Nothwithstanding the favourable opinion which the colonists had first conceived of the place,† they discovered in a few years, that they had built their town in the neighbourhood of one of the most barren parts of New England. The spots of good land are small, and few in number; and plains and hills of sand surround the harbour, and extend to a distance from it into the country, rendering it improbable that Plymouth could ever be raised into a flourishing and opulent capital. Many persons had already left the town; and at this time sundry respectable members requesting a dismission, the church began seriously to reflect, whether it was not better to remove in a body to another place, than thus to be weakened and insensibly dissolved.

Many meetings of the church were held on the subject; and there was a great diversity of sentiments among the members. Some were for still remaining together in Plymouth, alleging that they could live there very well, provided they would be contented with their situation; and that not the fear of poverty, but the desire of enriching themselves, was the motive of those who wished to depart. Others were determined to remove, declaring that if the whole church would not go, they would go by themselves. The members of the church, notwithstanding this difference of opinion, felt mutually the affection of brethren; and were unwilling to be deprived of the society and friendship of each other. At length, therefore, those who preferred staying in Plymouth yielded to the sentiment of the others; and a removal was universally agreed to, on the condition that they could find a place, which would conveniently receive the whole church, with the addition of such persons as might hereafter join them.

This being resolved, several places were proposed, and among others Nauset, which the Governour, Mr. Bradford,

* Hazard's Coll. Vol. I. p. 466. Plym. Col. Records, Lib. III. Fol. 276.

† See Mourt's Relation. 23.

ford, apprehended would be a commodious situation, he having had occasion once or twice to visit this part of the country, and having found here a tract of fertile land, which had also been commended by others as a rich soil.*

The church acceding to the proposition of the Governour, a committee was chosen and sent to Nauset on discovery. They took, however, a superficial view only of the place; and hence supposed that it was larger than it afterwards proved to be. After their return to Plymouth, the members of the church, knowing that "the purchasers or old comers" had a grant of lands in this part of the country, thought it necessary to apply to them for their consent; which being obtained, it was concluded by the church to send a number of persons to make a more complete discovery and survey of Nauset, and also to purchase the soil of the natives. This was in June, 1644.

Accordingly a committee, consisting of Thomas Prince, John Doane, Nicholas Snow, Josias Cook, Richard Higgins, John Smalley, and Edward Bangs, who were the first settlers of Eastham, with the addition of the Governour and many other members of the church, was chosen, and sent on a second discovery. These persons having proceeded to Nauset, and made an accurate survey of the place, judged that it was not capable of containing more than twenty or twenty-five families; and consequently that it was not large enough to accommodate the whole church, much less to afford room for future increase. They thought proper, however, to purchase the soil of the natives; which was done accordingly.

The lands, which were then bought, were as follows: A tract of land called Pochet, with two islands lying before Potanumaquut, with a beach and small island upon it; also all the land called Namskeket, extending northward to the bounds of the territory belonging to George, the sachem, excepting a small island† which was purchased afterwards. These tracts were bought of the sachem of Monamoyick, Mattaquason, who laid claim to them. Of George, the sachem, probably the immediate successor of Aspinet,

* See Morton's Mem. p. 34. edit. 1721.

† Pochet island.

Aspinet, they bought at the same time all the lands belonging to him; extending northward from the bounds of the territory claimed by Mattaquason, excepting a small neck of land lying by the harbour on the east side of the tract; which neck of land the English stipulated to fence; that the Indians might use it as a cornfield. It was also agreed between the English and Indians, that such of them as were the natural inhabitants of the place should have liberty to get shell fish in the cove; and likewise that they should have a part of the blubber, which should be driven on shore, the proportion to be determined by the English. At this time it was demanded, who laid claim to Billingsgate, which was understood to be all the land in the bay, north of the territory purchased of George, the sachem. The answer was, There was not any who owned it. Then said the committee, That land is ours. The Indians answered, It was.

The committee, having completed the business, returned to Plymouth, and made report to the church; who, judging that Nauset was not only too small to receive the whole body, but also too remote from the centre of the colony to be a fit place for the metropolis of the government, determined not to remove. Liberty, however, was given to those, who chose to go, to begin the plantation, they agreeing to pay for the purchase, which at first was made in the name of the whole church.*

In the mean time a grant was obtained of the colony court in the following words:

1644. "The court doth grant unto the church of New Plymouth, or those that go to dwell at Nauset, all the tract of land lying between sea and sea, from the purchasers bounds at Namskeket, to the Herring brook at Billingsgate, with said Herring brook, and all the meadows on both sides the said brook, with the great bass pond there, and all meadows and islands lying within the said tract."†

This grant included the present townships of Eastham, Wellfleet, and Orleans. It extended south to Monamoyick

* Plym. Col. Rec. Lib. III. Fol. 276.

† Plym. Col. Rec. Lib. II. Fol. 112.

yick bay, or the Eastern harbour, or Great harbour, as it was then sometimes called. At one end it was bounded by the "lands belonging to the purchasers or old comers," afterwards settled by the name of Harwich*; and at the other, by lands which were afterwards incorporated by the name of Truro; being in length about fifteen miles.

Thomas Prince, and the others above named, having obtained possession of the grant and the right of property, removed immediately to Nauset, and began to settle the township.† These persons are said to have been among the most respectable inhabitants of Plymouth. The church regretted their departure, viewing herself as a mother grown old and forsaken by her children, though not in their affections, yet in their company and personal assistance.‡ But however the emigration might be lamented at that time, it was productive of great good to the colony; as, whilst it did not essentially injure the church of Plymouth, which soon supplied with other members the loss which it had sustained, it eventually led to the settlement of all the lower part of the county of Barnstable; in consequence of which the Indians there, still from their numbers a formidable body, were overawed and their good will obtained; and they were prevented from joining in any hostile attempts against the English in the wars which afterwards ensued.

Of the first planters of Nauset, Thomas Prince was the leader. This gentleman was born in England, and came to America in the ship Fortune, which arrived at Plymouth, November, 1621, || being then in the twenty-second year of his age. He was first chosen governour of the colony in the year 1634; but Governour Bradford being re-elected the next year, Mr. Prince was appointed an assistant. He continued in this office, except in the year 1638, when he was a second time chosen governour, till the death of Mr. Bradford, in 1657.§ At this period a disposition

* Plym. Col. Rec. A. D. 1654. Mass. Acts and Laws. A. D. 1694.

† Morton's Mem. p. 159.

‡ Cotton's Account of the Church in Plym. in Coll. of Hist. Soc. Vol. IV. p. 112, 113. Plym. Col. Rec. Lib. III. Fol. 276.

|| Prince Ann. p. 114.

§ Morton's Mem. p. 123—183.

disposition prevailed in the colony to discountenance the regular ministers, by setting up the gifts of private brethren in opposition to them. The friends of learning thought that no method would be more effectual in preventing the churches from being overwhelmed with ignorance, than the election of Mr. Prince to the office of governour; and this point being gained, the adverse party from that time sunk into confusion. On this occasion he left Eastham and returned to Plymouth, where he resided till his death, which took place March 29th. 1673, in the seventy-third year of his age, after he had served his country in the office of governour eighteen years. His death was much lamented, and his body honourably buried at Plymouth, the eighth of April following. He was a man of great worth and piety; eminently qualified in an infant colony for the office of governour, the duties of which he faithfully and conscientiously discharged; studious of peace, a well-wisher to all who feared God, and a terrour to the wicked; rigid however in his religious opinions, and a zealous opposer of those whom he thought hereticks, particularly of the Quakers, who "placed their justification upon their patience and suffering for their opinions, and on their righteous life." Mr. Prince was in particular distinguished for his integrity. As a magistrate he so scrupulously rejected every thing which had even the appearance of a bribe, that if any person, who had a cause at court, sent a present to his family during his absence, on hearing of it, he immediately returned the value of it in money. His natural abilities were good, but they were not much improved by education; the want of which he duly felt, and this led him to encourage learning to the utmost of his power. It was he, who, in opposition to the clamours of the ignorant and selfish, procured revenues for the support of grammar schools in the colony.* Mr. Prince was twice married.† One of his descendants was the learned and accurate author of the Annals of New England, which have preserved many valuable materials of the early history

* Plym. Col. Rec. A. D. 1673. Morton's Mem. p. 183, 190, 191, 197, 198, 244. Mather's Magnal. Book II. chap. II. § 2.

† Prince's Ann. p. 150. MS. in possession of the writer of this article.

tory of the colonies, which but for the labours of their industrious author would have been irretrievably lost. Posterity, to whom the principles, feelings, habits, and sufferings of the planters of New England will be interesting objects of contemplation, will lament that the neglect of the contemporaries of this gentleman prevented him from bringing his work to a conclusion.

Next in rank to Mr. Prince, among the planters of Nauset, was John Doane. This gentleman came early to New England, and was chosen assistant in the year 1633.* Before his removal he was a deacon of the church of Plymouth.† His posterity have principally remained within the ancient limits of Eastham; and several of them have been men of respectable characters both in former and later times.‡

Of the other planters of Nauset little is now known. Edward Bangs and Nicholas Snow‖ came to New England in the ship Anne, which arrived at Plymouth July, 1623.§ The descendants of the former are chiefly to be found in Harwich; the numerous posterity of the latter in Harwich, Truro, and within the ancient limits of Eastham. Richard Higgins also came to Plymouth not many years after that town began, as his name appears on the list of freemen in the year 1633.¶ There are more families of this name in the county of Barnstable than of any other, except that of Smith; and nearly the whole of them live in Eastham, Orleans, and Wellfleet. Descendants of Cook and Smalley remain in the county; but they are not numerous. At what time these two persons came to New England is unknown. Francis, John, and Jacob Cook were among the early settlers of the colony**; Josias Cook might be the son of one of them.

These persons having seated themselves in Nauset, from time

* Plym. Col. Rec. 1633. In Morton's Mem. p. 120, by an errour of the press, the name is Dove.

† Cotton's Acc. of the Ch. in Plym.

‡ Rec. of Mass. A. D. 1693, 1759, 1770, &c.

‖ Plym. Col. Rec.

§ Prince's Ann. p. 139.

¶ Plym. Col. Records.

** Plym. Col. Rec. A. D. 1633.

time to time admitted others to join them. In the year 1646, they had gained such an accession of numbers, that they thought proper to apply to the colony court for an act of incorporation. This was obtained, and is in the following words.

1646. June 2d. "Nauset is granted to be a township, and to have all the privileges of a township, as other towns within the government have."

The inhabitants of Eastham soon experienced the inconvenience of having the natives at both ends of their township. They accordingly came to a composition with the Indians, who had been the subjects of George, the sachem, he being now dead, respecting the neck of land lying at the mouth of the harbour. For this tract they paid a valuable consideration, and allowed the Indians besides a piece of land at Gesquoquaset,* which they were to enclose themselves.

Not long after this they purchased the fertile island of Pochet, which in the first sale had been reserved by Mattaquason to the Indians. They held the lands in Billingsgate many years, without paying any thing for them. But about the year 1666, appeared an Indian, who styled himself Lieutenant Anthony, and laid claim to them. Of him therefore they bought the tract, extending from the northern limits of Nauset, to a little brook named by the Indians Sapokonisk, and by the English Bound brook, Anthony reserving to himself a small neck, called Tuttomnest.†

Twelve years before the claims of the Indians were fully satisfied, the line between Eastham and the lands belonging to "the purchasers or old comers" was settled. It was then determined by the colony court, that the line should begin at the river of Namskeket, and extend to the Eastern harbour.‡

The planters of Eastham having obtained possession of the township, both by act of the legislature and by purchase

* The writer has not been able to ascertain the situation of this land.

† Plym. Col. Rec. Lib. III. Fol. 276. Indian Deed to Thomas Prince, &c. 9th of Nov. 1666, in Plym. Col. Rec. A. D. 1673.

‡ Plym. Col. Rec. A. D. 1654.

chase from the natives, proceeded to cultivate their lands. A church was gathered soon after their arrival *; but the inhabitants were not sufficiently numerous to support a minister of religion till the year 1672, when the Reverend Samuel Treat was ordained.† This gentleman is entitled to a distinguished rank among the evangelists of New England; and by his zeal and labours, he not only converted many of the Indians to the faith which he embraced, but he was also the happy instrument of reducing them to a state of order and civilization.

The excellent Mr. Eliot was, however, the first mover in this benevolent work; and to him the highest praise is justly due. After converting the Indians in his neighbourhood, he travelled into the colony of Plymouth, and preached to the natives there. Not satisfied with this exertion, he wrote letters to several persons of learning and piety, urging them to accomplish themselves for the undertaking. His example and exhortations made such an impression on the mind of Mr. Richard Bourne of Sandwich, that he entered on the service with activity and ardour. Having first obtained a competent knowledge of their language, he turned his attention to the Indians, who lived southward and eastward of him. His labours were crowned with success; and many of them were converted to the faith, and several of them were taught to read and write.‡ There is extant a letter writen by him to Mr. Gookin in the year 1674; and it appears from it, that there were then, in the several villages below Sandwich, above three hundred Indians, who met together on the Lord's day to worship God. In this letter the name of Mr. Treat, and of the other settled ministers in the county, is not mentioned. Probably none of them had yet begun to imitate the laudable example of Mr. Bourne.

Mr. Treat, however, soon after engaged with earnestness in the business, and prosecuted it with zeal during a great

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* Mather's Magnal. B. II. chap. II. § 2. Cotton's Acc. of Ch. in Plym.

† Inscription on the grave stone of Mr. Treat.

‡ Coll. of Hist. Soc. Vol. III. p. 189. Gookin's Hist. Coll. chap. V. § 5. and chap. VIII. § 1, 2.

great number of years.* In 1685, when an account of the praying Indians in the colony of Plymouth was transmitted to England by Governour Hinkley, it was found that they amounted to five hundred men and women, within the limits of Mr. Treat's parish, beside boys and girls, who were supposed to be more than three times that number.†

Eight years after this period, at the request of Dr. I. Mather, he wrote a letter, which, as it contains valuable information, it may be proper to give entire.

"Reverend and worthy Sir,

"I being advertised, that it would not be unseasonable or unserviceable at this juncture to give yourself a true and impartial account, both of the number, as also of the present state of our Indians, and acceptation and entertainment of the gospel among them, and their professed subjection thereunto: wherefore, Sir, you may be assured as followeth.

"That there are five hundred and five adult‡ persons of Indians within the limits of our township, unto whom, these *many* years past, I have, from time to time, imparted the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ in their own language, and I truly hope not without success; and yet I continue in the same service, earnestly imploring, and not without hopes expecting and waiting for, a more plentiful down pouring of the Spirit from on high among them. And I verily do not know of, nor can I learn, that there is so much as one of these five hundred Indians, that does obstinately absent from, but do jointly frequent and attend on the preaching of the word, and countenance the same; not only frequenting and attending seasons of worship of a divine sanction, but also other occasional opportunities, when the gospel is dispensed to them; and when our congregations solemnize publick days of prayer, with fasting, or of praises, I usually giving them advertisement thereof, they

* Inscription on Mr. Treat's grave stone. See also his letter to Dr. I. Mather.

† Hutch. Hist. Vol. I. p. 349.

‡ Mr. T. probably wrote 500, and the printer mistook the second cypher for a 5.

they readily comply therewith in their respective assemblies.

"They have four distinct assemblies, in four villages, belonging to our township; in which four assemblies they have four teachers, of their own choice, of the more sober, well affected, and understanding persons among them; who do duly preach to them, when I am not with them. These Indian teachers repair to my house once a week, to be further instructed, *pro modulo meo*, in the concernments proper for their service and station.

"There are in the four abovesaid villages four schoolmasters, of the best accomplished for that service, who teach their youth to read and write their own language.

"There are also six justices of the peace, or magistrates, in the four abovesaid villages, who regulate their civil affairs, and punish criminals and transgressors of the civil law. They have their stated courts, and other inferiour officers, in a subserviency to their civil *eupolituesthai*.

"There are among them many of a serious, sober, civilized conversation and deportment, who are making essays towards a further progressive step of obedience and conformity to the rules of the gospel, viz. an ecclesiastical combination, having a great desire to be baptized.

"They are very serviceable, by their labour, to the English vicinity; and have, all along, since our wars with their nation, been very friendly to the English, and forward to serve them in that quarrel: Their deportment, and converse, and garb, being more manly and laudable than any other Indians, that I have observed in the province.

"But, Sir, I would not be tedious: only craving your interest at the throne of grace for us, that we may be serviceable to the name and kingdom of our Lord Jesus: so I subscribe,

Sir, yours willingly,

Samuel Treat.*

Eastham, Aug. 23d. 1693.

Rev. Increase Mather, Pres. of the College."

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* Matthew Mayhew's Narrative. 1694. p. 47.

It is remarkable that Mr. Treat in this letter estimates the adult praying Indians under his pastoral care at about five hundred; which number agreeing with the enumeration of Governour Hinkley, it is probable that he had not taken the trouble to make a new census, supposing that no material alteration had happened in eight years. But that the number of his Indians had diminished, either before or not long after the year 1693, appears from the Report of Grindal Rawson and Samuel Danforth.* These gentlemen, being directed by the commissioners for the propagation of the gospel in New England to examine the state of the praying Indians in Massachusetts, in the summer of 1698, visited all their plantations in the province. Though they were informed at Eastham by Mr. Treat, that the number of Indians under his care was still five hundred; yet their own observation did not confirm this account.

At Potanumaquut, the first village, they found twenty-two families and two schoolmasters, one of whom, Thomas Coshaumag, was the preacher. The rulers or magistrates were William Stockman, alias Quequaquonchet, and Lawrence Jeoffryes.

At Eastharbour and Billingsgate, that is Meshawn and Punonakanit,† were about twenty houses, in some of which were two families. Daniel Munshe was the preacher, and Daniel Samuel the ruler.

At Monamoyick were fourteen houses; John Cosens the preacher and schoolmaster, and the rulers John Quason and Menekish.

At Saukatucket were fourteen families, to whom Manasseh was the preacher and Joshua Shauntam the ruler.

In this Report there are four Indian villages, four preachers, and six magistrates, as Mr. Treat represents in his letter, but not more than ninety families, making the most liberal estimate for the two villages in which the number of the houses only is given. Supposing therefore that there were six persons to a family, a large allowance for Indian population, the number of men, women, and children

* Appendix to Noyes's Election Sermon, 1698. p. 96.

† See Gookin's Hist. Col. chap. VIII. § 2.

children could not have been more than five hundred and forty. Of this number less than four hundred must have been adults. Mr. Treat, as may be concluded from the well known integrity of his mind, without doubt honestly intended to give a true account; but he had not yet learned that an enumeration of Indians made in past years is not to be depended on, as their numbers are continually lessening.

Mr. Treat, as he informs Dr. Mather, preached to the Indians in their own language. He had made himself so perfectly acquainted with their barbarous dialect, that he was able to speak, and to write it with great facility. Once in a month he preached in the several villages. At other times the Indian teachers read to their congregations the sermons, which he had written for them, they not being permitted to deliver compositions of their own. In addition to these weekly tasks, he was at the pains to translate the Confession of Faith into the Nauset language, for the edification of his converts. The book was printed, and many years ago was in the possession of one of his grand-daughters.* As he conceived that it would not be in his power to make much impression on the minds of the Indians, unless he gained their good will, he exerted himself to secure their affections. Beside treating them on all occasions with affability and kindness, he frequently visited them at their wigwams, and with cheerfulness joined in their festivals. The consequence was, that the Indians, won by his engaging manners, venerated him as a pastor, and loved him as a father. Attentive to his comfort or necessities, they performed for him a great deal of labour, for which they would not accept any compensation; and on sundry occasions they made him valuable presents, as testimonies of their homage and regard.

But neither his prayers, nor his zeal in reforming and civilizing them, nor the benevolent exertions of his worthy coadjutors, could save them from destruction. A blasting wind appeared to have smitten the Indians, as soon as the English took possession of their country: they withered and died. Several years before the ministry of Mr. Treat was closed, a fatal disease, supposed to have

* Miss Eunice Treat.

have been a fever, swept away a great number of his converts. In the year 1745, as the author has been informed by an aged person, who then visited Eastham, few Indians were left within the township. By the census of 1764, there were found remaining in Eastham four Indians, in Wellfleet eleven, and in Harwich ninety-one. The greatest part of the latter number dwelt at Potanumaquut, where a missionary continued to preach several years after this period. But the Potanumaquut tribe having wasted away, the preacher was dismissed many years since. At present there are three Indians at Potanumaquut, and one in Eastham.

Such is the history of the decline of the Nauset tribes. In other parts of New England, the Indians have consumed with equal or still greater rapidity. At this time a traveller may pass through the country, and he will as seldom meet with an Indian as with a rattlesnake. Before another century is completed, the red man will probably become as rare as the beaver: which is known to have been common in New England by the vestiges of its labours.* But posterity will speak of him, as we now talk of the mammoth, as an animal which has long been extinct, but which certainly once existed; for as the bones of the mammoth remain, so the language of the Indian will be preserved in the vocabulary of Williams,† and the translations of Eliot.‡

To return to the history of Eastham: It was the only township, during many years, in this part of the county of Barnstable. But in 1694, the tract of land, granted to "the purchasers or old comers of Plymouth colony," being filled with a competent number of inhabitants, many of whom were derived from this place, it was incorporated by the name of Harwich. In 1700, the settlement of Truro commenced by emigrants from Eastham. Before

* See Belknap's Hist. of N. Hampsh. Vol. III. p. 154.

† See Coll. of Hist. Soc. Vol. III. p. 203. and Vol. V. p. 80.

‡ Mr. Eliot translated into the Indian language, the Bible, the Practice of Piety, Baxter's Call to the Unconverted, and several other books, all of which were printed. Gookin's Hist. Coll. chap. V. § 5.

fore churches were established in these two townships, Mr. Treat performed parochial duties in both: and he appears, by his letter to Dr. Mather, but not with accuracy, to consider the whole of the county east of Yarmouth as within the limits of Eastham. In the north precinct of the township, Billingsgate, a small meeting house was built not long after the incorporation of Truro, and probably before the decease of Mr. Treat. Mr. Oakes, the first minister, preached in it a number of years.*

Mr. Treat, having passed near half a century in the most active† ministerial labours, which he was enabled to support by a firm and vigorous constitution, had a shock of the palsy a few years before his death. A second attack put an end to his life, March 18th. 1716–17, when he was in the sixthy-ninth year of his age, and after he had been minister of Eastham forty-five years.‡

He died soon after the remarkable storm, distinguished in the annals of New England by the name of the Great Snow. The wind blew with violence; and whilst the grounds around his house were left entirely bare, the snow was heaped up in the road to an uncommon height. It was in vain to attempt making a path. His body therefore was kept several days, till an arch could be dug, through which he was borne to the grave, the Indians, at their earnest request, being permitted in turn to carry the corpse, and thus to pay the last tribute of respect to the remains of their beloved pastor.

Samuel Treat was the oldest son of the governour of Connecticut, Robert Treat,|| who was the father of twenty-one children. He was educated at Harvard College, and was graduated in the year 1669. By his first wife, Elizabeth Mayo, he had eleven children; and by his second, Abigail, daughter of Rev. Samuel Willard, pastor of the South church in Boston, he had two children, one of whom,

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* For the names of the other ministers in this parish see Description of Wellfleet in Coll. of Hist. Soc. Vol. III. p. 118.

† Mather's Magnal. B. III. p. 200.

‡ Inscription on Mr. Treat's grave stone.

|| For the character and exploits of this distinguished hero and patriot, see Trumbull's Hist. of Conn. Vol. I. p. 103—455.

whom, Eunice, was the mother of Judge Paine and of Mrs. Greenleaf, wife of Joseph Greenleaf, Esquire.*

Mr. Treat, as may be supposed from the period in which he lived, was a Calvinist: but his Calvinism was of the strictest kind; not that moderate Calvinism, which is so common at the present time, and which, by giving up, or explaining away the peculiar doctrines of the party, like a porcupine disarmed of its quills, is unable to resist the feeblest attack; but consistent Calvinism, with all its hard and sharp points, by which it can courageously defend itself; in fine, such Calvinism, as the adamantine author of this system would himself have avowed.

The fact is established beyond all dispute by a volume of his sermons in manuscript, now in possession of his grandson. These sermons are connected in their subjects, are correctly transcribed, and appear to have been designed for publication. They display learning; and the doctrines of his sect are defended with ability and ingenuity. The present age would not bear them, as many of the words which he uses have grown obsolete, and his images too frequently are coarse, and to a fastidious modern ear would approach even to the ludicrous. These sermons are distinguished by their tremendous applications, in which he has caught the spirit of Baxter and Alleine. The following extract from the application of a discourse on Luke xvi. 23. is given as a specimen of his manner.

"Let this truth be an awful and solemn word of awakening to thee, that art yet in thy sins, and hast not truly repented of them. I have pressed thee to seriousness from the consideration of death, and that is solemn; but it may be that seems a little thing to thee, and thou countest it no such great matter to die; and were the

* From the information of this gentleman and lady, particularly the latter, have been derived many of the facts in the life and character of Mr. Treat. Mrs. Greenleaf is now in the seventy-eighth year of her age. Her grandmother, Mrs. Treat, who made the character of her deceased husband a frequent subject of conversation, died December 27th. 1746.—It may be proper to add here, that the knowledge of several single facts, for which authorities are not quoted, in the History of Eastham, has been obtained from other sources, such as the report of aged persons, and uniform tradition.

the Epicurean principle a truth, that man dies in all points like the beasts that perish, it were of little concernment. Well then, if thou canst see nothing in the grave to make thee serious, I beseech thee to look a little further, and see if thou canst find nothing in hell to startle and amaze thee. Remember thou art not only going to the grave, which it may be thou mayst look upon as an easer of many of the sorrows of this life, and so mayst have some abatement of the terrours of it; but thou art going to hell, the beginner of worse, unspeakably worse sorrows.

"Thou must ere long go to the bottomless pit. Hell hath enlarged herself, and is ready to receive thee. There is room enough for thy entertainment: and dost thou know what it is for a condemned sinner to go to hell? I have told thee in the explication; but let me apply it to thee now.

"Consider thou art going to a place, prepared by God on purpose to exalt his justice in; a place made for no other employment but torments. Hell is God's house of correction; and remember God doth all things like himself: When God would show his justice, and what is the weight of his wrath, he makes a hell, where it shall indeed appear to purpose. Consider but what a spark of his wrath hath done in this world, and by that, rate the utmost of his fury. Let Sodom, Pharaoh, Korah, and multitudes of the like monuments witness to thee. Remember that mercy and justice are the two great attributes, which God intends the exaltation of by the creature. Then will that be verified, Who knows the power of thine anger? Wo to thy soul, when thou shalt be set up as a butt for the arrows of the Almighty; be made a brier that must burn in the fire of his jealousy forever, and not be consumed.

"Consider, God himself shall be the principal agent in thy misery. He is that consuming fire: his breath is the bellows, which blows up the flame of hell forever: he is the devouring fire, the everlasting burning: and if he punish thee, if he meet thee in his fury, he will not meet thee as a man; he will give thee an omnipotent blow. Little dost thou know what it is to enter the lists of contention with the Almighty. If his wrath kindle

dle but a little while, we wither before it. Now thou art afraid of the wrath of man: what wilt thou do, when God takes thee in hand?

"Consider, God will take delight to execute vengeance on thee. God delights in justice, and in executing his own decrees. Now it was his eternal decree to destroy sinners forever. He purposed to show his power, and make his wrath known, upon the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction. But wo to that soul, whom God shall delight to punish. Now thou laughest at the reproofs which God gives thee by his ministers and people: God will laugh at thee shortly. And how wilt thou bear, when he shall torment thee, and thou shalt roar under thy torments? Thou shalt cry for mercy, and he shall mock thee. Thou now rejoicest in sinning: he will ere long rejoice in thy calamity.

"Consider the company thou must go to: Thou goest to a place prepared for the devil and his angels. These were thy tempters here; they shall be thy companions there. Here thou chosest communion with them rather than with God and Christ; thou must have enough of their company ere long. And thy fellows in sin, with whom thou wentest hand in hand here in the world, and delightedst thyself in their sinful society,—some of them have gone before thee to the place of woes, and others will come after thee; and there shall you meet together, and there shall they curse thee for thy wicked counsels and persuasions, in drawing them to that place of misery.

"Consider what must be thy employment there.

"1. Sin. Some think sinning ends with this life; but it is a mistake. The creature is held under an everlasting law: the damned increase in sin in hell. Possibly the mention of this may please thee. But remember there shall be no pleasant sins there; no eating, drinking, singing, dancing, wanton dalliance, and drinking stolen waters; but damned sins, bitter hellish sins, sins exasperated by torments, cursing God, spite, rage, and blasphemy.

"2. Thou shalt be delivered up into the hands of the tormentors: then Satan will pay thee thy wages for thy servile slavery to him, and thou shalt know what a cruel master thou hast here served. What cruelty hath Satan sometime

sometime exercised to some here in this world, that have been possessed by him, and to others that have sold themselves to him! what amazing stories doth the world afford of such things! What dost thou think he will do, when he hath an unlimited commission and full possession? How wilt thou endure, when thou shalt have a thousand devils rending, and tearing, and macerating thee; when all the rage of hell shall fall upon thee without restraint?

"3. The never-dying worm shall gnaw and eat out all the heart of thy comfort. Thou shalt become thy own executioner: thy conscience shall pursue thee in hell, always crying out against thee, and bringing bitter things to thy mind, making thee to wring thy hands, and howl out sad lamentations. Thou canst hardly sit under one of these lectures now coming from the mouth of a poor minister; but let me tell thee, conscience in hell will read it after another manner than can now be conceived; every thought and consideration whereof will be a sharp dagger at thy heart, that will let out all joy and comfort out of thy soul.

"Remember how universal all this torment shall be. Here usually our pain is but in one part of the body; and yet what a misery it is to all the rest by sympathy? But then, soul and body shall be filled brimful: the guilt of all thy sins shall be laid upon thy soul; and be made so many heaps of fuel; when that tender and delicate body shall have all its beauty blasted and pride consumed; when the flames shall have no respect to its comeliness; when every member's pain shall be intolerable, and that insupportable misery shall spread itself through the whole man; when eyes, ears, hands, feet, heart, and all, shall be tormented in that flame.

"Consider how near the time hastens, when all this must come to pass upon thee. Time is almost gone with thee, and thou standest at the gate of eternity; and death is waiting upon thee, to transport thee away to the place of all thy miseries. Shortly thou must die, and it will be but a moment from thence to hell. When thou hast sinned away a few more days, watched and slept out a few more nights, away thou goest irrecoverably. It may be thou dreamest of many days to come; but, thou fool, how

how knowest thou but thy soul may be called for this very night; and the day of judgment is not far off.

"Sinner, I beseech thee, realize the truth of these things. Do not go about to dream that this is derogatory to God's mercy, and nothing but a vain fable to scare children out of their wits withal. God can be merciful, though he make thee miserable. He shall have monuments enough of that precious attribute, shining like stars in the place of glory, and singing eternal hallelujahs to the praise of him that redeemed them; though to exalt the power of his justice, he damn sinners heaps upon heaps."

The conclusions of the other sermons are in general equally alarming. Indeed the author of them appears to have thought it his duty, constantly to persuade men by the terrours of the Lord: and though in his first discourse he professes to "preach comfort and joy to the penitent, as well as hell and damnation to the impenitent"; yet few words of comfort are to be found, whilst there are denunciations of wrath in almost every page. The effect of his preaching was, that his hearers were, several times in the course of his ministry, awakened and alarmed.—That they were a holy and godly people, he himself testified; and he doubtless rejoiced in the persuasion, that he had been the happy instrument of their conversion. His best friends, however, allowed that he dwelt too much on the anger of God; and an instance is related of an innocent young man, who was so frightened with one of his dreadful pictures of the infernal regions, as nearly to be deprived of his senses. Mr. Treat, who really possessed great kindness of heart, became seriously concerned at his situation, and with assiduity and tenderness exerted himself to console him.

But with the advantage of proclaiming the doctrine of terrour, which is naturally productive of a sublime and impressive style of eloquence,* he could not attain the character of a popular preacher. His voice was so loud, that when speaking, it could be heard at a great distance from the meeting house, even amidst the shrieks of

* "Triumphat ventoso gloriæ curru orator, qui pectus angit, irritat, et implet terroribus." Vid. Burnet. de Stat. Mort. p. 309.

of hysterical women, and the winds that howled over the plains of Nauset; but there was no more musick in it, than in the discordant sounds with which it was mingled. An anecdote, which shows how much the excellence of his matter was injured by the badness of his manner, has been preserved.

After his marriage with the daughter of Mr. Willard, he was sometimes invited by that gentleman to preach in his pulpit. Mr. Willard possessed a graceful delivery, a masculine and harmonious voice; and though he did not gain much reputation by his Body of Divinity, which is frequently sneered at, particularly by those who have not read it; yet in his sermons are strength of thought and energy of language. The natural consequence was, that he was generally admired. Mr. Treat, having preached one of his best discourses, to the congregation of his father-in-law, in his usual unhappy manner, excited universal disgust; and several nice judges waited on Mr. Willard, and begged that Mr. Treat, who was a worthy, pious man, it was true, but a wretched preacher, might never be invited into his pulpit again.—To this request, Mr. Willard made no reply: but he desired his son-in-law to lend him the discourse; which, being left with him, he delivered it, without alteration, to his people, a few weeks after. The hearers were charmed: They flew to Mr. Willard, and requested a copy for the press. See the difference, they cried, between yourself and your son-in-law: you have preached a sermon on the same text as Mr. Treat's; but whilst his was contemptible, yours is excellent.*

Mr. Treat was a man of piety. He addressed his Maker with humble devotion, and his prayers were copious and fervent. His natural temper was mild; and his conduct in domestick life, as a husband, a parent, and a master, was kind and indulgent. His manners were cheerful; his conversation pleasant, and sometimes facetious, but always decent. He was fond of a stroke of humour and a practical

* Mr. Willard, after producing the sermon in the hand writing of Mr. Treat, might have addressed these sage criticks in the words of Phædrus:

"En hic declarat, quales sitis judices." Lib. V. Fab. 5.

a practical joke, and manifested his relish for them by long and loud fits of laughter. The Society for the propagation of the gospel is supposed to have made him a small compensation for his services among the Indians : he received also a small salary from his parishioners : but not satisfied with the emoluments which he derived from these sources, in the latter part of his life, he engaged in trade ; and by this means, with the addition of an inheritance which descended from his father, he was able to transmit a good estate to his family.

Rev. Samuel Osborn, who was born in Ireland, and educated in the university of Dublin, was the second minister of Eastham : He was ordained September 18th. 1718.* The next year, the church being divided into two, Mr. Osborn removed into the south part of the township.

Rev. Benjamin Webb was ordained pastor of the church that remained. The most remarkable event, which took place after his settlement in Eastham, was the declaration of the ministers in the county of Barnstable against itinerant preaching. This was particularly aimed at Mr. Whitfield. The character of this celebrated preacher, who was viewed in various lights by his contemporaries, is not yet determined. Those who now read his sermons, and who are disgusted with the enthusiasm and egotism, which are displayed in his journals, written in his youth, will be disposed to judge unfavorably of his talents : whilst those, who have witnessed his astonishing oratorical powers,—and there are still alive many persons who have heard him preach, —will class him with the great men of the age. That he possessed acuteness of mind is proved by his controversial writings, in which it must be allowed, even by those who do not approve his opinions, that he was an ingenious disputant. The qualities of his heart have been as much the subject of dispute as those of his head. That he was vain, rash, and censorious, particularly in his youth, cannot be denied : but at the same time it cannot be denied, that he was devout, ardent, zealous, and active ; a loyal subject of the government, under which he lived ; charitable to the poor ; and candid in acknowledging his faults, a rare virtue,

* Orleans Church Records.

tue, and therefore the more to be prized.* His sincerity has been questioned ; but such open, unguarded, and fervent men are not often insincere. Whether his preaching was productive of good or evil, is not agreed : it probably effected both. The declaration of the ministers in the county of Barnstable states only the mischiefs, which, they say, flow from it ; and they are these : That it tends to destroy the usefulness of ministers among their people, in places where the gospel is settled, and faithfully preached in its purity : And that it promotes strife and contention, a censorious and uncharitable spirit, and those numerous schisms and separations, which have already destroyed the peace and unity, and at this time threaten the subversion of many churches.† To this declaration Mr. Webb subscribed his name, with nine other ministers of the county : and it was one of the last acts of his life ; for he died August 21st. 1746, in the fifty-first year of his age, and the twenty-seventh of his ministry.‡

Though Mr. Whitfield's admirers may censure him for his conduct, yet it is the only fault which they can allege against Mr. Webb. That he was a pious, learned, laborious and faithful minister, and that he was holy and unblameable in all the walks of life, is the universal voice of tradition, confirmed by the report of the surviving friends, who were acquainted with his worth. Mr. Crocker, the pastor of the south church of Eastham, a man of virtue himself, and a good judge of moral merit, pronounced him the best man, and the best minister, whom he ever knew. As he spent his days in the uniform discharge of his duty, and there were no shades to give relief to his character, not much can be said of him. His heart was as pure as the new fallen snow, which completely covers every dark spot in a field ; his mind was as serene as the sky in a mild evening of June, when the full moon shines without a cloud. Name any virtue, and that virtue he practised ; name any vice, and that vice he shunned. But if

* See Whitfield's Remarks on the Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared. Boston. 1749. p. 13, 23, 24.

† Declaration, &c. Feb. 20th. 1745. Boston : Printed 1745.

‡ Inscription on the grave stone of Mr. Webb.

if peculiar qualities marked his charater, they were his humility, his gentleness, and his love of God. The people had long been taught by a son of thunder : in him they were instructed by a son of consolation, who sweetly allured them to virtue by soft persuasion and by exhibiting the mercy of the Supreme Being : for his thoughts were so much in heaven, that they seldom descended to the dismal regions below : and though of the same religious sentiments as Mr. Treat, yet his attention was turned to those glad tidings of great joy, which a Saviour came to publish. His visits were as beneficial to his flock as his sermons ; for he had the happy talent of giving conversation a practical turn, and of enforcing the precepts which he had taught in the pulpit.

In 1751, Rev. Edward Cheever was installed pastor of the church. Twelve years after his settlement, Eastham, in number of inhabitants, was the first township in the county ; but Wellfleet being separated from it at that period, four townships immediately rose above it. When the census was taken in 1764, there were found in Eastham thirteen hundred and thirty-one souls, and nine hundred and twenty-eight in Wellfleet. These townships continued to flourish, till the revolutionary war stopped their further progress. In 1776, Eastham contained eighteen hundred and ninety-nine inhabitants, and Wellfleet twelve hundred and thirty-five. After this period both townships, and particularly Wellfleet, suffered greatly.* With the peace, prosperity returned. But, in 1790, the ancient township of Eastham had not attained its former population ; for it had then only two thousand nine hundred and fifty-one inhabitants, of whom eleven hundred and seventeen were in Wellfleet. Mr. Cheever, after serving the church of Eastham near forty-three years, died August 17th. 1794, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

The church did not long remain vacant ; for September 23d. 1795, Rev. Philander Shaw was ordained. Eighteen months after this event, the south precinct was separated

* See Coll. Hist. Soc. Vol. III. p. 18.

separated from Eastham, and incorporated into a township. Before this division took place, the two religious societies constituted one parish ; the ministers being paid an equal sum out of the treasury of the town. The portion of land, which retains the ancient name, is now a place of small importance. It contains fewer inhabitants than any other township in the county ; and as nature has not bestowed on it a good harbour, and it is impossible to form one by art, the fishing towns in the vicinity will probably long maintain above it that superiority, which they have acquired. Since, however, the census of 1800, when its inhabitants were enumerated at six hundred and fifty nine, it has increased in population. The people are industrious and enterprising, and still retain the other good habits, which did honour to their fathers ; and they are happily united in the same mode of religious worship ; there being, in Eastham, not an individual, who does not belong to the Congregational society. *r. s.*

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## A Description of Orleans, in the County of Barnstable. September, 1802.

THE south part of Eastham was incorporated into a township, by the name of Orleans, March 3d. 1797. Its distance from Boston is ninety-one miles : and it is bounded, on the east, by the ocean ; on the south, by Pleasant bay ; on the west, by Harwich ; and on the north-west, by Barnstable bay. The county, which stretches east from Buzzard's bay to this place, here turns to the north, and extends that course to Truro. The length of the township is five miles ; and the breadth, from one to four miles.

The face of the land is uneven ; but the hills are not very high. The county road runs through a corner of the township, and is here tedious and heavy. The road from Cape Cod to Chatham passes on its western side, and is of the same quality. On the necks, where the best land lies, the roads are tolerable ; but these are out of the way of the traveller.

Orleans

Orleans is of a very irregular form, the lines which separate it from the adjoining townships being crooked, and its shores being indented by coves and creeks.

Town Cove has already been described. The neck on the south-east side of it is called Toneset : the land is pretty good.

A river, without a name, runs into Pleasant bay. The head of it is called Zeb's cove, where it is narrow ; but it is a half of a mile wide at its mouth. Vessels, which draw seven feet of water, can come a half of a mile below this cove ; the distance of the northern part of which from the mouth of the river is two miles and a half. The land east of this river is named Barley neck. The soil is somewhat better than that of Toneset. On the east side of Barley neck are coves, which communicate with Pleasant bay, and which separate it from Chatham beach.

The land, which is situated between Barley and Toneset necks, and which terminates in Wood's neck, is named Pochet, pronounced at present Pochee. There is also here a little good soil, but a larger proportion which is light and sandy.-

North-east of Pochet, near the ocean, is a small neck, named Weeset. It is separated from Toneset by a cove.

These several necks constitute a peninsula, the whole of which is denominated Pochet. The isthmus is not more than a half of a mile wide ; and is situated between Town cove on the north, and Zeb's cove on the south.

Chatham beach forms the barrier of the waters, which wash the eastern and southern shores of Orleans. A mile south of the mouth of Stage or Nauset harbour, it joins the main land, with the exception mentioned in another part of this volume.* Below the junction, the water is at first shallow ; but it deepens by degrees, and at length communicates with Pleasant bay and Chatham harbour. South of this place was, many years ago, the mouth of Nauset harbour ; which being filled up gradually, a new opening, above a mile north of it, was suddenly made in the beach. Salt marsh, with a few interruptions, lines the inside of this beach, and extends almost to the mouth of Chatham harbour.

There

* See p. 116.

There are several islands in Pleasant bay, within the limits of Orleans. The largest is Pochet island, which is situated east of Barley neck, and is the best land in the township. On its north-east side is a small body of salt marsh.

South-west of Pochet island, is Sampson's island, containing about twenty acres of tolerable land. East of it, and near it, is a larger body of salt marsh. On the south, Hog island, of the dimension of ten acres, joins it at low water.

Southerly of Hog island is Sipson's island, of the extent of twenty acres.

These islands add beauty to the haven, and give it a just title to the name which it has received, that of Pleasant bay.

Opposite to Orleans, or Eastham, in the ocean, it is said, is the point, where the tides from Narraganset and Massachusetts bays meet, and whence they separate, the flow of the sea above this point being toward the north, and below it toward the south.*

Leaving the peninsula of Pochet, and travelling round Orleans river, on the west side of it is Naumkoyick neck; which is formed by Higgins' river on the north of it, and Naumkoyick creek on the south.

The south quarter of the township is called Potanumaquut. The territory, which retains this ancient Indian name, is partly in Harwich. The land here is light and sandy; the greatest part cleared; a part covered with brush wood; and a small part with oaks and pines.

In the north-west quarter of the township, on Barnstable bay, is Namskeket creek, which is three quarters of a mile long, and which, as far as it runs, is the dividing line between Orleans and Harwich. It is very narrow; and its mouth is not quite so deep as Rock harbour. The territory near it, as well as the creek itself, is at present called Skaket. The land is light and sandy.

Little Skaket creek, which is a mile north-east of it, is still smaller.

Rock

* MS. Lett. from Rev. Levi Whitman. Mr. W. does not consider this as a fact established beyond dispute; but requests farther information from judicious seamen.

Rock harbour creek, a mile north-east of Little Skaket, runs a mile and a half, and affords the best harbour at its mouth. It is however nearly dry at low water ; and at high tide is not more than seven feet deep.

On all these three creeks there are bodies of salt marsh.

Though the township is not supplied with brooks, yet there are not less than sixteen ponds, which serve for the watering of cattle and other purposes.

From the description already given, it appears that there is a portion of good land in this township ; but the soil in the greatest part of it is light and sandy ; and in some places absolutely barren.

Pochet island, where a small quantity of wheat is grown, will produce twenty bushels of Indian corn to an acre, without manure. Barley and Toneset necks will yield fifteen bushels without, and thirty with, manure. Three crops in succession are frequently taken from the good land : the first year, Indian corn ; the second, hill rye ; the third, stubble rye. The rye is sown in August.

The light lands of Orleans and Eastham, which do not differ from each other essentially, produce from five to eight bushels of rye, and ten bushels of Indian corn, to an acre, without manure ; and with manure, fifteen or twenty. A quarter, and sometimes a third, of the land, fit for cultivation, in both these townships, is annually in grain.

The horse-foot, or king crab, was formerly much used for manuring land, set with Indian corn and potatoes ; and it is still employed in Orleans, in the south part of Dennis, and in other parts of the county. It is chopped into small pieces, and not more than one, and sometimes not more than a quarter, put into a hill. As it contains an abundance of oil, it affords a strong manure ; and with it the light lands may be made to yield twenty bushels of corn to an acre. It is however too hot a manure, and causes the land to exert itself so much, that it cannot easily recover its strength. Attention of late is paid to the collection of sea weed from the shore. When corn is to be raised, it is spread on the land ; and it is put into the holes for potatoes. It is a preservative against worms ; five sorts of which, in this place, and in other parts of the county, are very destructive to Indian corn.

The

The first is the *web worm;* a small, taper worm, of a gray colour, about a half of an inch in length. As soon as the corn comes up, it forms about the root a web, which cannot be seen without opening the earth. It ascends in the night, and devours the blade. About the 20th. of June, it ceases eating.

The second is the *gray worm;* about an inch in length, and thicker than the web worm. It forms no web, descends into the ground in the day, rises in the night, and devours the blade; continues eating much longer than the web worm, and is very destructive.

The third is the *half-hill worm;* an inch long, bluish, and red-headed; first appears the 20th. of June; draws the blade under ground, and there devours it; ceases eating the 1st. of July.

The fourth is the *root worm;* small at first, but an inch and a half long when fully grown; white, with a tawny head; six claws; begins to eat in the middle of June, and ceases eating the 1st. of August: frequently destroys entire fields. Dung and ashes are the best antidotes against it.

The fifth is the *ear worm;* which, after the ear is formed, eats the grains and between them; about an inch long; taper; striped with brown and white; begins to eat about the middle of August, and continues eating two or three weeks; the grains, which it does not devour, are rendered mouldy.

In Eastham and Orleans, Indian corn is set four and a half or five feet apart. Four seeds are dropped into a hole. But the four first mentioned worms destroy so many of the stalks, that seldom more than two or three remain. Provided they should all escape, the best farmers pull up one. In Dennis, two only are suffered to be in a hill. In this county, corn is at present hilled very little, experience having shown, that the former practice of heaping up the earth about it is not necessary either to its growth or stability. Horse-hoeing is performed in several places with a small harrow, instead of a plough. The same mode has been adopted by a few persons in other parts of the state. And sometimes, first the plough, and then the harrow, are used, without raising any hill at all. The

corn

corn in the county of Barnstable is large and solid : a bushel of it weighs sixty pounds. Four or five hundred bushels of corn are annually sent from Orleans to Boston market. The fishermen, however, frequently purchase this article in the capital for the use of their families.

Other vegetables are raised, sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants. Butter is made for summer use, and a little cheese. Some cattle are fattened, and several sold in the townships below. Not more than ten tons of English hay are cut ; but between six hundred and a thousand tons of salt hay. The salt marshes are of two kinds : one, covered every tide ; the other, at spring tides only.

There are small orchards, several of which have lately been planted ; but no cider is made. The greening, which is a low tree, succeeds better than any other. Fruit trees cannot be made to grow within a mile of the ocean. Even those, which are placed at a greater distance, are injured by the east winds ; and after violent storms in the spring, a saltish taste is perceptible on their bark.

Very little wood is left in the township ; but the inhabitants are obliged, either to purchase their fuel, or to have recourse to peat and turf. Happily there are several swamps and meadows, which contain this necessary substitute. The people were ignorant that they possessed this article, till, many years ago, Mr. Osborn, their minister, who had learned the use of it in Ireland, first pointed it out, and taught them the art of drying and preparing it.

The shores of Orleans are more fertile than the land. Sea fowls may be obtained by those who will seek for them, though not in such abundance as at Chatham. Fishes are the same as in other towns of the county. A few tautaug are caught in Town cove. Bass enter the waters within the beach the 1st. of June, and are caught with hooks. In the ocean, a few rods from the beach, they are taken with seines, during the summer. Eels are so plenty, that in the winter, when the coves are covered with ice, a hundred bushels are sometimes, by a company of twenty or thirty persons, collected in a day.

Though no oysters are to be found on the shores, yet quahaugs and clams are in greater profusion than in any other part of the county.

The

The quahaug (*venus mercenaria*) called by R. Williams the *poquau* and the *hen*,* is a round, thick shell fish, or, to speak more properly, worm. It does not bury itself but a little way in the sand; is generally found lying on it, in deep water; and is gathered up with iron rakes made for the purpose. After the tide ebbs away, a few are picked up on the shore below high water mark. The quahaug is not much inferiour in relish to the oyster, but is less digestible. It is not eaten raw; but is cooked in various modes, being roasted in the shell, or opened and boiled, fried, or made into soups or pies. About half of an inch of the inside of the shell, is of a purple colour. This the Indians broke off, and converted into beads, named by them *suckauhock*, or black money; which was of twice the value of their *wompom*, or white money, made of the *meteauhock*, or periwinkle.

The razor shell (*solen*) is so named from its resemblance in size and shape to the haft of a razor. It is said to force itself, not only upwards and downwards, but diagonally. This motion is effected by means of a round, fleshy protuberance, as long as the little finger of a man's hand, and composed of rings. There is more irritability in this worm than in the clam. Several days after the razor shell has been caught, if the protuberance is held between the fingers, and is touched with the point of a knife, the worm draws itself up to it with force. This worm is not common in the bay of Massachusetts, though it has sometimes been obtained there. The open shells, however, are to be found on Chelsea beach, a few miles from Boston. The shells, with the living worms in them, can without much difficulty be procured at Orleans and other parts of the county of Barnstable; but as they are not taken, except a few at a time, they are not often eaten.

The sea clam, which is at present called the *hen*, the quahaug having lost that appellation, is bivalve (as are also the quahaug and razor shell) and oval. It is generally found in deep water, and is gathered with rakes, not being buried far in the sand. As it has frequently been known to injure the stomach, it is not often eaten. Before the Indians

* Coll. Hist. Soc. Vol. III. p. 224. *Poquauhock*, corrupted into *quahaug*, or *quauhog*, is the word with a plural termination.

Indians learned of the English the use of a more convenient instrument, they hilled their corn with hoes made of these shells, to which purpose they are well adapted by their size. If a handle could be easily fixed to them, they might be employed as ladles and spoons.

The clam *(mya arenaria)* is of the same shape, but much smaller. This worm is buried in the sand, from four to eighteen inches deep. A small perforation, through which, after the tide has ebbed away, it ejects water perpendicularly, marks the spot where it lies. The worm has the power of thrusting upwards its black head, or snout, and of drawing it down again. This snout is frequently bitten off by flounders and other fishes. Whether the shell moves or not, the writer is unable to determine, as he has received contradictory accounts. The Indians were very fond of clams, which they called *sickishuog.** Being unacquainted with salt, they made use of them and of their natural liquor, to season their nasaump and boiled maize. Many of the descendants of the English consider clams as excellent food. But they require strong stomachs to digest them, unless the whole of the snout is rejected. They would be more valued, if they were less common. But as long as a peck of clams, which are sufficient to afford a small family a dinner, can be procured with little more labour than a peck of sand, they will not be much prized. The clam continues alive several days after it is taken from its hole. This is well known to fishermen; and is proved by the following singular fact.

A gentleman, not far from Boston, ordered a number of clams to be dug, and to be put into his cellar, intending to make use of them as bait. They remained there several days, when the shells, as is usual, beginning to open, a rat thrust his paw into one of them, attempting to pull out the worm. The two shells closed together with force, and held him fast. As the clam was too big to be dragged through

* This is a word with a plural termination. See Coll. Hist. Soc. Vol. III. p. 224. If the author might be allowed to revive an old term, he would denominate the common, or small clam, the *sicki*, a word of easy pronunciation, and which would distinguish it from the fresh water clam and the three other testaceous worms above mentioned.

through his hole, the rat was unable to make his escape; and at length his cries excited the attention of the family, who came and saw him in the situation described.

Clams are found on many parts of the shores of New England; but no where in greater abundance than at Orleans. Formerly five hundred barrels were annually dug here for bait; but the present year a thousand barrels have been collected. Between a hundred and two hundred of the poorest of the inhabitants are employed in this business; and they receive from their employers three dollars a barrel, for digging the clams, opening, salting them, and filling the casks. From twelve to eighteen bushels of clams in the shell must be dug, to fill, when opened, a barrel. A man by this labour can earn seventy-five cents a day; and women and children are also engaged in it. A barrel of clams is worth six dollars: the employers therefore, after deducting the expense of the salt and the casks, which they supply, still obtain a handsome profit.

A thousand barrels of clams are equal in value to six or eight thousand bushels of Indian corn; and are procured with not more labour and expense. When therefore the fishes, with which the coves of Orleans abound, are also taken into consideration, they may justly be regarded as more beneficial to the inhabitants, than if the space which they occupy was covered with the most fertile soil. The riches which they yield are inexhaustible, provided they are not too wantonly lavished. For after a portion of the shore has been dug over, and almost all the clams taken up, at the end of two years, it is said, they are as plenty there as ever. It is even affirmed by many persons, that it is as necessary to stir the clam ground frequently, as it is to hoe a field of potatoes; because if this labour is omitted, the clams will be crowded too closely together, and will be prevented from increasing in size.

The land of Orleans being cultivated by none but the old men and small boys, the flower of the people, between the ages of twelve and forty-five, are engaged in the cod-fishery. As, however, not a fishing vessel is owned by the inhabitants, they sail from Duxbury, Plymouth, Chatham, Provincetown,

Provincetown, and other places. The only vessels belonging to Orleans are three coasters, which bring fire wood and lumber from the district of Maine, and one packet, which sails to Boston from Rock harbour.

When the census was taken in 1800, the number of inhabitants was a thousand and ninety-five. There are at present a hundred and seventy-four families, who occupy a hundred and forty-one dwelling houses. These houses are in general neat, convenient buildings; but five of them only are two stories in height. The houses in no part of the township are collected into a village, though in the neighbourhood of the meeting house they are nearer together than in any other place. There are three school houses. The meeting house, which has lately been repaired, stands on the isthmus of Pochet.

The inhabitants are Congregationalists. Their first minister, Mr. Osborn, was a man of wisdom and virtue. Beside teaching his people the use of peat, he contributed much to their prosperity, by introducing new improvements in agriculture, and by setting them the example of economy and industry. But his good qualities and services did not avail him: for embracing the religion of Arminius, his parishioners, who still retained the faith of Calvin, thought proper to dismiss him about the year 1737. From Eastham he removed to Boston, where he kept a private grammar school eight or ten years. He died about thirty years ago, aged between ninety and a hundred.

He was succeeded by Rev. Joseph Crocker, who was ordained September 12th. 1739.* Mr. Crocker was a strict Calvinist, a man of prudence, faithful as a minister, but destitute of popular talents as a speaker, a hard student in theology, but without much information on other subjects, mild in his temper and affectionate in his manners, greatly beloved by his people, and exemplarily pious. He died March 2d. 1772.

Rev. Jonathan Bascom, the present pastor, was ordained October 14th. 1772.* *Senex emunctæ naris, doctus, et auctor elegantium verborum; facetus, et dulcis festique sermonis.*

*r. s.*

* Orleans Chh. Rec.

NOTE ON WELLFLEET, IN THE COUNTY OF BARNSTABLE, EXTRACTED FROM A LETTER FROM REV. LEVI WHITMAN, DATED OCTOBER 8TH. 1802.

THE number of vessels owned in Wellfleet is twenty-five. Five are engaged in the whale fishery this year at the Straits of Belle Isle and Newfoundland. They carry salt; and what they want in loading with oil, they make up in cod fish. Of these, one is of a hundred tons, three of seventy-five, and one of fifty-seven. There are four vessels, that are engaged in the cod and mackerel fishery chiefly; which are one of fifty-four tons, the other three of about forty tons each. Four vessels are employed in carrying oysters to Boston, Salem, Newbury-port, and Portland, containing about thirty tons each. The other twelve are small vessels, containing from sixteen to twenty-five tons each; and are engaged in fishing round the Cape. They take mackerel, cod, and haddock; and when they load quick with halibut, they run into Boston, and likewise with mackerel.

A DESCRIPTION OF PROVINCETOWN, IN THE COUNTY OF BARNSTABLE. SEPTEMBER, 1802.

IN the third volume of the Massachusetts Magazine is an entertaining description of Provincetown. To that interesting paper, which was written in 1790, the following is intended as a supplement.

Provincetown is situated in latitude 42°. 03′. N. and longitude 70°. 09′. W. from Greenwich. It is bounded on the south-east by Truro. The length of the township, from these limits to Wood end, is three miles and a half. The mean breadth is two miles and a half. Its distance from Boston, by land, is a hundred and twenty miles.

The township consists of beaches and hills of sand, eight shallow ponds, and a great number of swamps. The most remarkable of the latter is named the Shank-painter; beginning near the meeting house, and extending a mile in length. The little wood, which remains, is principally pitch

pitch pines. Small trees of maple, beech, and aspen are in the swamps. The bushes are whortleberries, four species, (perhaps two of the four varieties only) bay-berries, and box-berries: there are also a few beach plums.

Great attention is now paid to the transplanting of beach grass, on the sides of the hills and other naked spots near the town. The roots are set three or four feet apart in the spring; and the grass, being propagated both by the roots and the seed, forms a close body in three or four years. There are several other plants, which grow on the beaches, beside those mentioned in the Description of Chatham. Among these is the rupture-wort (*herniaria glabra.*) This is a small, low plant; which, when broken, exudes a kind of milky substance. A decoction of it is said, but probably without reason, to be good in consumptive cases.

The township is in the form of a hook: the ocean is on the north; Barnstable bay on the west; and Cape Cod harbour on the south, within the curve. The southern extremity of Herring cove, which is described in another part of the volume,* is Wood end. A shoal extends from it, a half of a mile, west south west, called Wood-end Bar. Wood end is half way between Race point and the end of Long point; and ought not to be confounded with the latter, as it sometimes erroneously is by strangers. The shore at Race point, and on the outside of Long point, is very bold. The distance between these two points is six miles.

Long point is a low, sandy beach, which can with difficulty be discerned in the night; but which is dry at high water. Unfortunately, Des Barres, who, with a few exceptions, is entitled to the highest applause for his great accuracy in delineating the coast, has laid down this point as a shoal; which has led all other map makers, who have followed him, into a mistake. It ought to have been marked with a line on both sides, and dotted, like the beach of Chatham. The chart of Captain John Foster Williams will convey a good idea of it. This point is from a hundred to five hundred yards in breadth. A shoal extends from its end, south south east, a quarter of a mile. Cape

* See p. 110.

Cape Cod harbour is formed by the bending of the land, from Pamet river to Long point, nearly round every point of the compass: it is completely land-locked. The distance from Long point to the shore of Truro is four miles; and from the same point to the town, two miles. The depth of water in the anchoring ground is from three to fourteen fathoms: the best holding ground is in four fathoms and a half. Vessels anchor about three quarters of a mile from the town. The head of the harbour is toward Wood end. There are here flats extending three quarters of a mile from the shore. Flats lie all along the shore; but do not reach so far, except at East harbour, where they also extend three quarters of a mile.

In sailing from Race point, at the distance of a half of a mile from it, into the harbour, the course is south-south-east, till the light-house bears east by north. Keep this course the distance of two miles. Then run north-east, till the light-house bears east by south. After which steer north-west into the harbour.*

A creek, called the Mill creek, because there was formerly a mill on it, runs into the western part of the harbour. It is about a mile in length, and is nearly dry at low water.

Common tides in the harbour rise twelve feet.

This harbour and the waters near it afford a great variety and abundance of excellent and profitable fishes. Herrings are caught, principally in the harbour, from the first of October to the first of December. Last year, between five and six thousand barrels were taken: worth about four dollars a barrel. Bass are caught in the harbour, and sometimes on the outside of Wood end, from the first of May till the last of November; about three hundred quintals annually, beside what are daily eaten by the inhabitants: worth four dollars a quintal. The first mackerel, which are carried to Boston market in the spring, are taken in the harbour; and yield a handsome profit, though the Boston marketmen purchase them of the inhabitants of Provincetown at about a quarter of what

* For directions for sailing from Boston light house to Cape Cod, the distance between which is fifteen leagues, see Capt. J. F. Williams's Chart.

what they are sold for in the capital. Three hundred barrels are every year pickled and sent to Boston. The mackerel, bass, and herring are caught with seines, of which there are about fifty in the town, and which cost a hundred dollars each. Another seine, worth six dollars, is made use of for catching mackerel in the spring, and herring for bait. Of this kind there are about two hundred. Beside the boats belonging to the fishing vessels, there are a dozen whaleboats, and about a hundred more of the same form, but shorter. The latter catch, annually, about thirty quintals of cod-fish each, chiefly off Wood end. Two or three whales, producing about a hundred barrels of oil, are every year caught in the harbour. Black fish are now seldom obtained. About two hundred sharks are annually caught at Race point, and yield, one with another, four gallons of oil. There is a large shark in the harbour, named the bone-shark, and similar in shape to the man-eating shark, but harmless : five or six are taken in a year. The other fishes in the harbour, and on the coast, are the sturgeon, eels of a superiour quality, and in great abundance, haddock, tom-cod, pollock, flounder, halibut, drummer, manhadon, horse-mackerel, dog-fish, and several more, enumerated in the Description of Truro.* No cusk, blue-fish, sheep's-head, tautaug, sea-perch, are found in the harbour.

There are muscles, sea-clams, and quahaugs; but neither oysters nor small clams. The greatest part of the clam bait is brought from Orleans, Eastham, and Wellfleet.

Lobsters, of an excellent quality, are obtained in great abundance on both sides of Long point. Five vessels are constantly employed in catching them, and carrying them to the market of New York. Two smacks go with them to the Boston market. Several barrels are pickled, and sent to the former place.

In 1790, the inhabitants "employed about twenty vessels in the cod-fishery." They now possess thirty-three vessels, one of which is a brig, one a sloop, and the rest schooners: their number of tons is seventeen hundred and twenty-two. Two or three of these vessels are occasionally engaged in the merchants' service.

* Coll. Hist. Soc. Vol. III. p. 199.

vice. Beside which, four other vessels, containing about three hundred tons, partly owned in Provincetown and partly in Boston, are also employed in the cod-fishery, and fit out, and obtain their crews from this place. The fishing vessels go to the banks of Newfoundland, the coast of Labrador, and the bay of Chaleur; and they bring home annually about thirty-three thousand quintals of fish, which are worth, a quintal, about three dollars and a third. This business employs three hundred men and boys; a quarter of whom belong to other places. Five or six of the vessels are engaged partly in the cod-fishery, and partly in the whale-fishery: the whale-fishery, however, is small, and yields little profit. About half of the fish caught from the vessels are cured at Provincetown. All the provisions and stores for the vessels and men are procured in Boston; and the greatest part of the fish sold in the same place. Eight thousand hogsheads of salt are used in the fisheries.

Sea fowls were formerly plenty on the shores; but they have been so frequently molested, that their numbers are much reduced.

The town is a mile and a half long. More than two thirds of the dwelling houses are built close to the harbour: a few stand back in vallies; but none of them far from the shore. The number of dwelling houses is a hundred and forty-four,* eight of which are within the limits of Truro. Two of the houses only are two stories in height. Most of these houses are new, neat, painted, and well finished. When the census was taken in 1800, there were eight hundred and twelve souls. At present, there are a hundred and ninety-eight families. If there be the same proportion between the families and souls as there was in 1790,† the number of the inhabitants now must be nine hundred and forty-six.

There are ninety stores, in which fish is deposited, five houses for the smoking of herring, four or five shops, twenty barns, and two windmills. One of the windmills goes with fliers in the inside, and appears like a large and lofty

* The number of dwelling houses and families in Dennis, Orleans, Eastham, and Provincetown, as given in this volume, is from actual enumeration.

† Sec. U. S. Census for 1790, p. 29.

lofty tower. As it stands on a high hill, it is seen at a great distance; and to seamen entering the harbour is a conspicuous object.

The number of salt works is given in the Description of Dennis. Provincetown is remarkably well situated for carrying on this useful manufacture. The works are erected close to the dwelling houses, directly under the eye of the owners, and can be covered and uncovered with little expense of time: They stand under the sand hills, which face the south, and reflect on them a strong heat; add to which, that no fresh streams run into the harbour, the water of which must be as salt as that of the ocean. The effect of these causes is, that the same number of superficial feet yield more salt, the water evaporating faster, than in any other part of the county.

The township is the property of the state, and titles are first obtained by possession and improvement. So many houses and works have been erected, and the town is in so flourishing a situation, that building spots now sell at a high price: they are transferred by quit-claim deeds.

The other buildings are, a house erected by King Hiram's lodge of free masons, in 1795, the upper apartment of which is a well finished hall, and the lower story of which is divided into two rooms, appropriated to school houses: two other school houses: a decent Congregational meeting house, erected in 1793: and a small Methodist meeting house. The Methodists, who appeared to flourish awhile, are reduced to twelve families.

The climate and diseases of Provincetown do not differ materially from those of other parts of the county. The air, though naturally pure, is rendered unpleasant by the fish flakes which surround the houses. In the year 1794, a fever proved very mortal. It is supposed to have been occasioned by a number of sharks, which were left to putrefy on the shore near the town. At present, the inhabitants appear to be attentive in removing such disgusting objects out of the way.

Cape Cod was originally a part of Truro. In 1714, it was made a district or precinct, and put under the constablerick of that town. It was incorporated into a township, by the name of Provincetown, June 14th. 1727,

1727, and invested with peculiar privileges, the inhabitants being exempted from taxation. At that time, and for ten or twelve years after, it was a flourishing place, containing a number of dwelling houses, and several shops and stores. Not long after this period, the inhabitants began to forsake the town; and before the year 1748, it was reduced to two or three families. In 1755, it contained about ten dwelling houses. No notice is taken of it in the census of 1764. In 1776, there were in it thirty-six families, two hundred and five souls, and about twenty dwelling houses. It remained in a state of depression during the revolutionary war; in the former period of which it was in a great measure in the power of the enemy, who, whenever they pleased, entered the harbour, and exacted those supplies, which the inhabitants were able to furnish. When the blessings of peace at length returned, it began to lift up its head; and without meeting with any remarkable misfortune to check its progress, it has gradually risen to its present state of prosperity.

During the former flourishing period of Provincetown Mr. Spear was the minister. His flock having forsaken him, he was compelled at last to remove. The church remained without a pastor a long time; but was occasionally supplied with preachers, the province paying twenty pounds a year for the support of the gospel. January 20th. 1774, Rev. Samuel Parker was ordained; and for twelve years, received, annually, forty-five pounds from the government. Since that period the pastor has been supported entirely by the inhabitants. *r. s.*

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A Calculation of the state of the Cod and Whale Fisheries, belonging to Massachusetts in 1763: copied from a Paper published in 1764.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 300 vessels in the cod-fishery caught 102,265 quintals of merchantable fish, at 12*s.* - | *Sterling.* £.61,359 | 00 |
| and 137,794 quintals of West-India fish, at 9*s.* | 62,007 | 06 |
| | 123,366 | 06 |

*(Carried over.*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Brought over.* | £.123,366 06 |
| 90 mackerel vessels, at 200 barrels each, are 18,000 barrels, at 18*s.* - - - - - | 16,200 00 |
| Shad, alewives, and other pickled fish, 10,000 barrels, at 10*s.* - - - - - - - | 5,000 00 |
| 12 barrels of oil to each cod-fishing vessel are 3,600, at 30*s.* - - - - - - - | 5,400 00 |
| 15,000 hogsheads for packing the West-India fish, at 6*s.* - - - - - - - | 4,500 00 |
| West-India fish from Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, in return for provisions, rum, sugar, and molasses, - - - - - - - | 10,000 00 |
| 180 sail of whale-fishing vessels, the exportations to Great Britain amounting, in oil and bone, to - - - - - - - - - - | 75,000 00 |
| To the West-Indies and the Continent in do. | 3,500 00 |
| Total. | £.242,966 06 |

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A Relation or Journal of a Plantation settled at Plymouth in New England, and Proceedings thereof: first printed in 1622, and abbreviated in Purchas's Pilgrims, Book x. Chap. iv. London. 1625. (1)

1. WEDNESDAY, the sixth of September, the wind coming east-north-east, a fine small gale, we loosed from Plymouth, having been kindly entertained and courteously used by divers friends there dwelling; and after many difficulties in boisterous storms, at length, by

(1) Purchas's Pilgrims has become a very scarce work. The fifth volume in particular, called the fourth part in the title page, and beginning with the sixth book and ending with the tenth, is so rare, that the Historical Society has not yet been able to obtain it. This is the more to be regretted, as this volume is the most interesting to the inhabitants of the United States, relating to the discovery and plantation of Virginia and New England. In the tenth book are two valuable papers, which give an account of the settlement of Plymouth and its history to September, 1623. These it has been thought proper to

by God's providence, upon the ninth of November following, by break of the day, we espied land, which we deemed to be Cape Cod, and so afterward it proved. Upon the eleventh of November, we came to an anchor in the bay, which is a good harbour and pleasant bay, circled round, except in the entrance, which is about four miles over from land to land, compassed about to the very sea with oaks, (2) pines, juniper, sassafras, and other sweet wood. It is a harbour wherein a thousand sail of ships may safely ride. There we relieved ourselves with wood and water, and refreshed our people, while our shallop was fitted to coast the bay, to search for an habitation. There was the greatest store of fowl that we ever saw.

2. And every day we saw whales playing hard by us; of which in that place, if we had instruments and means to take them, we might have made a very rich return, which to our great grief we wanted. Our master and his mate, and others, experienced in fishing, professed we might have made three or four thousand pounds worth of oil. They preferred it before Greenland whale-fishing, and purpose the next winter to fish for whale here. For cod we assayed, but found none: there is good store no doubt in their season. Neither got we any fish all the time we lay there, but some few little ones on the shore. We found great muscles, (3) and very fat and full of sea pearl;

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to reprint; and the volume has been borrowed from the library of Harvard college for the purpose. The first paper here presented to the publick is anonymous; but it is quoted by Prince and Belknap under the title of Mourt's Relation. Mourt was probably nothing more than the printer or publisher of the original work, which Purchas has abridged. From internal evidence it appears to have been written by one of the company; and were not the Indian names spelled in a manner different from those in the second paper, it might without hesitation be attributed to Winslow. In this edition the paragraphs are numbered; and notes are added by the editor, *r. s.*

(2) Few trees are now left round Cape Cod harbour. That they were formerly common, appears from the stumps still remaining (See Mass. Mag. Vol. III. p. 150) and from the name *Wood end.* An aged gentleman has informed the editor, that in 1740, there was a number of *oaks* in the woods north-west of East harbour.

(3) Though muscles are found in Cape Cod harbour, yet the sea clam, or *hen*, seems to be meant, as it frequently produces on the stomach the effects here described. See Description of Orleans, p. 192.

pearl; but we could not eat them, for they made us all sick that did eat, as well sailors as passengers. They caused to cast and scour; but they were soon well again. The bay is so round and circling, that before we could come to anchor, we went round all the points of the compass. We could not come near the shore by three quarters of an English mile, because of shallow water (4); which was a great prejudice to us; for our people, going on shore, were forced to wade a bow-shot or two in going aland, which caused many to get colds and coughs; for it was many times freezing cold weather.

3. This day, before we came to harbour, observing some not well affected to unity and concord, but gave some appearance of faction, it was thought good there should be an association and agreement, that we should combine together in one body, and to submit to such government and governours, as we should by common consent agree to make and choose, and set our hands to this that follows word for word.

4. In the name of God, Amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign lord, king James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, &c. having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together in a civil body politick, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame, such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof, we have hereunder subscribed our names. Cape Cod, eleventh of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign lord, king James of

(4) See Description of Provincetown, p. 198.

of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Domini 1620.

5. The same day, so soon as we could, we set ashore fifteen or sixteen men, well armed, with some to fetch wood, for we had none left; as also to see what the land was, and what inhabitants they could meet with. They found it to be a small neck of land (5): on this side where we lay is the bay (6): and the furthest side the sea (7): the ground or earth, sand hills, much like the downs in Holland, but much better: the crust of the earth, a spit's (8) depth, excellent black earth: all wooded (9) with oaks, pines, sassafras, juniper, birch, holly, vines, some ash, walnut: the wood for the most part open and without under-wood, fit either to go or ride in. At night our people returned, but found not any person, nor habitation; and laded their boat with juniper, which smelled very sweet and strong, and of which we burnt the most part of the time we lay there.

6. Monday, the thirteenth of November, we unshipped our shallop, and drew her on land, to mend and repair her, having been forced to cut her down in bestowing her betwixt the decks; and she was much opened with the people's lying in her; which kept us long there, for it was sixteen or seventeen days before the carpenter had finished her. Our people went on shore to refresh themselves, and our women to wash, as they had great need. But whilst we lay thus still, hoping our shallop would be ready in five or six days at the furthest (but our carpenter made slow work of it, so that) some of our people, impatient

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(5) The men appear to have been landed on Long point, which tradition says has been diminished in its length, breadth, and height.

(6) By the bay is intended the harbour. See par 1. and par. 23. where Plymouth harbour is called a bay; and par. 58, where the same name is given to the harbour of Cummaquid, or Barnstable.

(7) That is, Barnstable bay.

(8) The depth of a spade.

(9) See Note (2.)

tient of delay, desired for our better furtherance to travel by land into the country; which was not without appearance of danger, not having the shallop with them, nor means to carry provision but on their backs; to see whether it might be fit for us to seat in or no; and the rather, because as we sailed into the harbour, there seemed to be a river opening itself into the main land. The willingness of the persons was liked, but the thing itself, in regard of the danger, was rather permitted than approved: and so with cautions, directions, and instructions, sixteen men were set out, with every man his musket, sword, and corslet, under the conduct of Captain Miles Standish; unto whom was adjoined, for counsel and advice, William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Tilley.

7. Wednesday, the fifteenth of November, they were set ashore (10); and when they had ordered themselves in order of a single file, and marched about the space of a mile by the sea, they espied five or six people, with a dog, coming towards them, who were savages; who, when they saw them, ran into the woods, and whistled the dog after them, &c. First they supposed them to be Master Jones, the master, and some of his men; for they were ashore and knew of their coming: but after they knew them to be Indians, they marched after them into the wood, lest other of the Indians should lie in ambush. But when the Indians saw our men following them, they ran away with might and main; and our men turned out of the wood after them, for it was the way they intended to go, but they could not come near them. They followed them that night about ten miles (11) by the trace of their footings, and saw how they had come the same way they went, and at a turning perceived how they ran up a hill, to see whether they followed them. At length, night came upon them, and they were constrained to take up their lodging (12). So they set forth three

(10) The men were probably set ashore on the east side of Mill creek.

(11) The distances in this paper are over-rated.

(12) Probably near Stout's creek.

three sentinels; and the rest, some kindled a fire, and others fetched woods, and there held our rendezvous that night.

8. In the morning, so soon as we could see the trace, we proceeded on our journey, and had the track until we had compassed the head of a long creek (13); and there they took into another wood, and we after them, supposing to find some of their dwellings. But we marched through boughs and bushes, and under hills and vallies (14), which tore our very armour in pieces, and yet could meet with none of them, nor their houses, nor find any fresh water, which we greatly desired and stood in need of; for we brought neither beer nor water with us, and our victuals was only biscuit and Holland cheese, and a little bottle of aquavitæ, so as we were sore athirst. About ten o'clock we came into a deep valley (15), full of brush, wood-gaile, and long grass, through which we found little paths or tracks; and there we saw a deer, and found springs of fresh water (16), of which we were heartily glad, and sat us down and drunk our first New England water, with as much delight as ever we drunk drink in all our lives.

9. When we had refreshed ourselves, we directed our course full south (17), that we might come to the shore; which within a short while after we did, and there made a fire, that they in the ship might see where we were, as we had direction; and so marched on towards this supposed river. And as we went in another valley, we found a fine

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(13) East-harbour creek.

(14) Excepting the trees and bushes, which have disappeared, this is an exact description of that part of Truro called East harbour.

(15) In this valley is the small village of East harbour. It is going to decay, and probably will not long exist.

(16) In the midst of the valley abovementioned is a swamp, called Dyer's swamp. Around it was formerly a number of springs of fresh water; and a few still remain, though probably before another century is closed, they will be choked with sand, as many of them already have been.

(17) The course from Dyer's swamp to the Pond is south.

a fine clear pond of fresh water (18), being about a musket-shot broad, and twice as long. There grew also many small vines; and fowl and deer (19) haunted there. There grew much sassafras. From thence we went on, and found much plain ground (20), about fifty acres fit for the plough, and some signs where the Indians had formerly planted their corn. After this some thought it best, for nearness of the river, to go down and travel on the sea sands, by which means some of our men were tired and lagged behind. So we stayed and gathered them up, and struck into the land again (21); where we found a little path to certain heaps of sand, one whereof was covered with old mats, and had a wooden thing like a mortar, whelmed on the top of it, and an earthen pot laid in a little hole at the end thereof. We musing what it might be, digged and found a bow, and, as we thought, arrows, but they were rotten. We supposed there were many other things; but because we deemed them graves, we put in the bow again, and made it up as it was, and left the rest untouched, because we thought it would be odious unto them to ransack their sepulchres. We went on further and found new stubble, of which they had gotten corn this year, and many

(18) This pond gives name to the principal village of Truro. It begins near the western shore, and extends east; (See Coll. Hist. Soc. Vol. III. p. 195.) and is not laid down in any map, which the editor has seen, except that of Norman's, and not very accurately there, as the breadth is too great in proportion to its length. In the map of the State lately published, it is erroneously made to communicate with the bay. East of it, on the Clay pounds, stands the light house, which is placed too far south in all the maps, except that of Capt. J. F. Williams. In a map of Massachusetts, published in Hamburgh, the word Pond is written on the south, instead of the north, side of the meeting house. The greatest part of this pond is now filled with grass and flags in summer, though it is still a pond in winter, as in 1620 it probably was at every season of the year. For proofs that ponds are sometimes filled up, and are even converted into swamps, see Coll. Hist. Soc. Vol. III. p. 172.

(19) Deer have been seen near this pond by persons now living.

(20) The land on the south side of the Pond is an elevated plain.

(21) Probably at the Great Hollow. See Coll. Hist. Soc. Vol. III. p. 196.

many walnut trees full of nuts, and great store of strawberries, and some vines. Passing thus a field or two, which were not great, we came to another (22), which had also been new gotten; and there we found where an house had been, and four or five old planks laid together. Also we found a great kettle, which had been some ship's kettle, and brought out of Europe. There was also an heap of sand, made like the former, but it was newly done: we might see how they paddled it with their hands; which we digged up, and in it we found a little old basket full of fair Indian corn; and digged further, and found a fine great new basket, full of very fair corn, of this year, with some six and thirty goodly ears of corn, some yellow, and some red, and others mixt with blue, which was a very goodly sight. The basket was round and narrow at the top. It held about three or four bushels, which was as much as two of us could lift up from the ground, and was very handsomely and cunningly made. But whilst we were busy about these things, we set our men sentinel in a round ring, all but two or three which digged up the corn. We were in suspense what to do with it and the kettle; and at length, after much consultation, we concluded to take the kettle, and as much of the corn as we could carry away with us; and when our shallop came, if we could find any of the people, and came to parley with them, we would give them the kettle again, and satisfy them for their corn.

10. So we took all the ears, and put a good deal of the loose corn in the kettle, for two men to bring away on a staff. Besides, they that could put away into their pockets, filled the same. The rest we buried again; for we were so laden with armour, that we could carry no more.

11. Not far from this place we found the remainder of an

(22) From the Great Hollow the sixteen adventurers travelled south to the hill which terminates in Hopkins' cliff. This they named Corn-hill. See par. 15. The Indians formerly dwelt in great numbers on this hill; and the shells, deposited by them on it, are still ploughed up in abundance. It should be noted, that Hopkins' cliff is on the north side of Pamet river, and that north of the Cliff is the Great Hollow. In the German map the Great Hollow is erroneously placed on the south side of the river. The name, which ought to have been written there, is Hog's Back.

an old fort or palisado, which, as we conceived, had been made by some christians. This was also hard by that place, which we thought had been a river; unto which we went and found it so to be, dividing itself into two arms by an high bank, (23) standing right by the cut or mouth, which came from the sea. That which was next unto us was the less. (24) The other arm (25) was more than twice as big, and not unlike to be an harbour for ships; but whether it be a fresh river, or only an indraught of the sea, we had no time to discover, for we had commandment to be out but two days. Here also we saw two canoes; the one on the one side, the other on the other side. We could not believe it was a canoe, till we came near it. So we returned, leaving the further discovery hereof to our shallop: and came that night back again to the fresh water pond; and there we made our rendezvous that night, making a great fire, and a barricado to windward of us, and kept good watch with three sentinels all night, every one standing when his turn came, while five or six inches of match was burning. It proved a very rainy night.

12. In

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(23) This is an accurate description of the entrance of Pamet river. The high bank is now called Old Tom's hill; and it is the termination of a neck of land situated between the two creeks. When Truro was first planted by the English, this neck, with several other tracts of land, was reserved to the Indians; from which circumstance it retains the name of Indian neck. Prince, in whose Annals very few errours can be detected, has fallen into a great mistake, in supposing that Barnstable harbour is the place which was visited. (See Ann. p. 74.) But the description does not suit the harbour of Barnstable, or any creek or inlet in the bay, except Pamet harbour; and as Dr. Belknap rightly observes (Biog. Vol. II. p. 176.) neither the time nor distance can agree with Prince's conjecture. Barnstable is fifty miles from Cape Cod harbour by land; a distance which could not have been travelled, and back again, in three short days of November.

(24) The smallest creek, which was next to the travellers, is called Hopkins' creek. There is on it a body of salt marsh, which runs half way across the township of Truro. The depth of water in this creek, when the tide is in, is five feet.

(25) Pamet river; which extends almost across the township, being separated from the ocean by nothing but a narrow beach. It runs through a body of salt marsh, which is accurately laid down in Des Barres' chart, though the whole of the creek itself is not marked. In other maps the marsh is converted into water.

12. In the morning, we took our kettle and sunk it in the pond, and trimmed our muskets, for few of them would go off, because of the wet; and so coasted the wood (26) again to come home; in which we were shrewdly puzzled, and lost our way. As we wandered, we came to a tree, where a young sprit was bowed down over a bow, and some acorns strewed underneath. Stephen Hopkins said, it had been to catch some deer. So, as we were looking at it, William Bradford being in the rear, when he came looking also upon it, and as he went about, it gave a sudden jerk up, and he was immediately caught by the leg. It was a very pretty device, made with a rope of their own making, and having a noose as artificially made as any roper in England can make, and as like ours as can be; which we brought away with us. In the end we got out of the wood, and were fallen about a mile (27) too high above the creek; where we saw three bucks, but we had rather have had one of them. We also did spring three couple of partridges; and as we came along by the creek, we saw great flocks of wild geese and ducks, but they were very fearful of us. So we marched some while in the woods, some while on the sands, and other while in the water up to the knees (28); till at length we came near the ship; and then we shot off our pieces, and the long boat came to fetch us. Master Jones and Master Carver being on the shore, with many of our people, came to meet us.—And thus we came both weary and welcome home; and delivered in our corn into the store, to be kept for seed, for we knew not how to come by any, and therefore was very glad, purposing so soon as we could meet with

(26) The wood was terminated by the Pond, by the side of which they travelled, and then through a valley, which is continued from it, east, toward the ocean.

(27) This brought them about a mile, south-east, of the head of East harbour creek.

(28) They appear to have waded through Stout's creek, and also through Mill creek, and to have passed on to the end of Long point, from which the ship lay at the distance of less than a furlong. See par. 19.

with any of the inhabitants of that place, to make them large satisfaction.

13. When our shallop was fit indeed, before she was fully fitted, for there was two days work after bestowed on her, there was appointed some four and twenty men of our own, and armed, then to go and make a more full discovery of the rivers before mentioned. Master Jones was desirous to go with us, and took such of his sailors as he thought useful for us; so as we were in all about four and thirty men. We made Master Jones our leader; for we thought it best herein to gratify his kindness and forwardness. When we were set forth, it proved rough weather and cross winds; so as we were constrained, some in the shallop, and others in the long boat, to row to the nearest shore the wind would suffer them to go unto, and then to wade out above the knees. The wind was so strong as the shallop could not keep the water, but was forced to harbour (29) there that night; but we marched six or seven miles further, and appointed the shallop to come to us as soon as they could.

14. It blowed and did snow all that day and night, and froze withal. Some of our people that are dead, took the original of their death here. The next day, about eleven o'clock, our shallop came to us, and we shipped ourselves; and the wind being good, we sailed to the river we formerly discovered, which we named Cold Harbour (30); to which, when we came, we found it not navigable for ships; yet we thought it might be a good harbour for boats, for it flows there twelve foot (31) at high water. We landed our men between the two creeks (32), and marched four or five miles

(29) In East harbour. The men who marched, *several* miles, and what they supposed to be *six* or *seven* miles farther, were landed on the point which forms this harbour.

(30) At the request of the editor, several of the principal inhabitants of Truro have agreed to revive the old name of Cold harbour.

(31) The mouth of Pamet river, or Cold harbour, is twelve feet deep at high water. Thence the water gradually decreases to five feet, which is the depth at the lower bridge. This is to be understood of the lowest tides, during the summer.

(32) The men were landed at Old Tom's hill.

miles (33) by the greater of them, and the shallop followed us. At length night grew on, and our men were tired with marching up and down the steep hills and deep vallies (34), which lay half a foot thick with snow. Master Jones, wearied with marching, was desirous that we should take up our lodging, though some of us would have marched further. So we made there our rendezvous for that night under a few pine trees; and as it fell out, we got three geese and six ducks for our supper, which we ate with soldier's stomachs, for we had eaten little all that day.

15. We marched to the place where we had the corn formerly, which place we called Corn-hill (35); and digged and found the rest, of which we were very glad. We also digged in a place a little further off, and found a bottle of oil. We went to another place, which we had seen before, and digged and found more corn, viz. two or three baskets full of Indian wheat, and a bag of beans, with a good many of fair wheat (36) ears. Whilst some of us were digging up this, some others found another heap of corn, which they digged up also; so as we had in all about ten bushels, which will serve us sufficiently for seed. And sure it was God's good providence that we found this corn, for else we knew not how we should have done; for we knew not how we should find or meet with any of the Indians, except it be to do us a mischief. Also we had never in all likelihood seen a grain of it, if we had not made our first journey; for the ground was now covered with snow, and so hard frozen, that we were fain with our cutlasses and short swords to hew and carve the ground a foot deep, and then wrest it up with levers, for we had forgot to bring our tools. Whilst we were in this employment, foul weather being towards,

(33) From Old Tom's hill to the head of Pamet river the distance is about three miles and a half, as the hills run, or three miles in a straight line. The tradition is, that Pamet river was formerly deeper than it is at present, and therefore the shallop might easily follow them.

(34) This is an exact description of the land on Pamet river.

(35) The inhabitants of Truro have also consented to revive the old name of Cornhill.

(36) Indian corn is still meant.

towards, Mr. Jones was earnest to go aboard; but sundry of us desired to make further discovery, and find out the Indians' habitations. So we sent home with him our weakest people, and some that were sick, and all the corn; and eighteen of us stayed still and lodged there that night, and desired that the shallop might return to us next day, and bring us some mattocks and spades with them.

16. When we had marched five or six miles in the woods, and could find no signs of any people, we returned again another way; and as we came into the plain ground, we found a place like a grave, but it was much bigger and longer than any we had yet seen. It was also covered with boards; so as we mused what it should be, and resolved to dig it up: where we found first a mat, and under that a fair bow, and there another mat, and under that a board about three quarters long, finely carved and painted, with three tines or broches on the top, like a crown. Also between the mats we found bowls, trays, dishes, and such like trinkets. At length we came to a fair new mat, and under that two bundles, the one bigger, the other less. We opened the greater, and found in it a great quantity of fine and perfect red powder, and in it the bones and skull of a man. The skull had fine yellow hair still on it, and some of the flesh unconsumed. There was bound up with a knife, a packneedle, and two or three old iron things. It was bound up in a sailor's canvas cassock and a pair of cloth breeches. The red powder was a kind of embalment, and yielded a strong, but no offensive smell. It was as fine as any flour. We opened the less bundle likewise, and found of the same powder in it, and the bones and head of a little child. About the legs and other parts of it was bound strings and bracelets of fine white beads (37). There was also by it a little bow, about three quarters long, and some other odd knacks. We brought sundry of the prettiest things away with us, and covered the corpse up again. After this, we digged in sundry like places, but found no more corn, nor any thing else but graves.

17. Whilst

(37) Wampom, made of the periwinkle.

17. Whilst we were thus ranging and searching, two of the sailors, which were newly come on the shore, by chance espied two houses, which had been lately dwelt in, but the people were gone. They, having their pieces, and hearing nobody, entered the houses and took out something, and durst not stay, but came again and told us: so some seven or eight of us went with them, and found how we had gone within a flight shot of them before. The houses were made with long young sapling trees bended, and both ends stuck into the ground. They were made round like unto an arbour, and covered down to the ground with thick and well wrought mats; and the door was not over a yard high, made of a mat to open (38). The chimney was a wide open hole in the top; for which they had a mat to cover it close when they pleased. One might stand and go upright in them. In the midst of them were four little trunches knocked into the ground, and small sticks laid over, on which they hung their pots, and what they had to seeth. Round about the fire they lay on mats, which are their beds. The houses were double matted; for as they were matted without, so were they within with newer and fairer mats. In the houses we found wooden bowls, trays, and dishes, earthen pots, hand-baskets made of crab-shells wrought together; also an English pail or bucket; it wanted a bail, but it had two iron ears. There was also baskets of sundry sorts, bigger, and some lesser, finer, and some coarser. Some were curiously wrought with black and white in pretty works, and sundry other of their household stuff. We found also two or three deer's heads, one whereof had been newly killed, for it was still fresh. There was also a company of deer's feet, stuck up in the houses, harts' horns, and eagles' claws, and sundry such like things there was; also two or three baskets full of parched acorns, pieces of fish, and a piece of a broiled herring. We found also a little silk grass, and a little tobacco seed, with some other seeds which we knew not. Without was sundry bundles of flags, and sedge, bull-rushes, and other stuff to make mats. There was thrust into a hollow tree two or three pieces of venison; but

(38) See Gookin's Coll. chap. 3. § 4. and Williams' Key. chap. vi.

but we thought it fitter for the dogs than for us. Some of the best things we took away with us, and left the houses standing still as they were.

18. Much disputation fell out about the place where we should abide; and a company was chosen to go out upon a third discovery. Whilst some were employed in this discovery, it pleased God that Mistress White was brought to bed of a son, which was called Peregrine.

19. Wednesday, the sixth of December, we set out, being very cold and hard weather. We were a long while, after we launched from the ship, before we could get clear of a sandy point, which lay within less than a furlong of the same (39). In which time two were very sick, and Edward Tilley had like to have swooned with cold. The gunner was also sick unto death (but hope of trucking made him go) and so remained all that day and the next night. At length we got clear of the sandy point, and got up our sails, and within an hour or two we got under the weather shore, and then had smoother water and better sailing; but it was very cold, for the water froze on our clothes, and made them many times like coats of iron.

20. We sailed six or seven leagues by the shore, but saw neither river nor creek. At length we met with a tongue of land, being flat off from the shore, with a sandy point (40). We bore up to gain the point, and found there a fair income or road of a bay, being a league over at the narrowest, and some two or three in length; but we made right over to the land before us, and left the discovery of this income till the next day. As we drew near to the shore, we espied some ten or twelve Indians very busy about a black thing (41), what it was we could not tell till afterwards they saw us, and ran to and fro, as if they had been carrying something away. We landed a league or two from them, and had much ado to put ashore,

(39) The end of Long point.

(40) Billingsgate point. This point then joined the land north of it; but it is now an island. See Coll. Hist. Soc. Vol. IV. p. 41.

(41) A grampus. Prince's Ann. p. 76.

ashore any where, it lay so full of flat sands (42). When we came to shore, we made us a barricado, and got fire wood, and set out sentinels, and betook us to our lodging, such as it was. We saw the smoke of the fire, which the savages made that night, about four or five miles from us.

21. In the morning we divided our company, some eight in the shallop, and the rest on the shore went to discover this place; but we found it only to be a bay, without either river or creek coming into it. This place the most were minded we should call Grampus bay, because we found many of them there*. We followed the track of the Indians' bare feet a good way on the sands. At length we saw here they struck into the woods by the side of a pond (43). As we went to view the place, one said he thought he saw an Indian house among the trees. So we went up to see. And here we and the shallop lost sight one of another till night, it being now about nine or ten o'clock. So we lighted on a path, but saw no house, and followed a great way into the woods. At length we found where corn had been set, but not that year. Anon we found a great burying place, one part whereof was encompassed with a large palisado, like a church yard, with young spires four or five yards long, set as close one by another as they could, two or three foot in the ground. Within it was full of graves, some bigger, and some less. Some were also paled about; and others had like an Indian house made over them, but not matted. Those graves were more sumptuous than those at Cornhill; yet we digged none of them up, only viewed them and went our way. Without the palisado were graves also, but not so costly. We went ranging up and down till the sun began to draw low; and then we hasted out of the woods, that we might come to our shallop. By that time we had done, and our

(42) See Description of Eastham. p. 155.

* They found grampuses dead, two inches thick of fat, and five or six paces long. *Note by the author.*

(43) Great pond in Eastham, north of which they landed. This pond is well delineated in the late maps of the state

our shallop come to us (44) it was within night; and we fed upon such victuals as we had, and betook us to our rest, after we had set our watch.

22. About midnight we heard a great and hideous cry; and our sentinel called, Arm, arm. So we bestirred ourselves, and shot off a couple of muskets, and noise ceased. We concluded that it was a company of wolves and foxes, for one told us he had heard such a noise in Newfoundland. About five o'clock in the morning we began to be stirring. Upon a sudden we heard a great and strange cry, which we knew to be the same voices, though they varied their notes. One of the company, being abroad, came running in, and cried, They are men, Indians, Indians: and withal their arrows came flying amongst us. Our men ran out with all speed to recover their arms. The cry of our enemies was dreadful, especially when our men ran out to recover their arms. Their note was after this manner, *Woach woach ha ha hach woach.* Our men were no sooner come to their arms, but the enemy was ready to assault them. There was a lusty man, and no whit less valiant, who was thought to be their captain, stood behind a tree within half a musket shot of us, and there let his arrows fly at us. He stood three shots of a musket. At length one took, as he said, full aim at him: after which he gave an extraordinary cry; and away they went all. We followed them about a quarter of a mile; but we left six to keep our shallop, for we were careful of our business. We took up eighteen of their arrows, which we had sent to England by Master Jones; some whereof were headed with

(44) It appears from Gov. Bradford's MS. Hist. quoted by Prince, Ann. p. 77. that the shallop coasted along the shore, south, and that toward night the people on the land met it at a creek. This Morton conjectures to be Namskeket. Mem. p. 25. But it may with more probability be concluded that it was Great Meadow creek. If the travellers had gone as far as Namskeket, they must either have crossed Great Meadow, Boat Meadow, Rock harbour, and Little Namskeket creeks, or they must have passed round their heads, which, at a time when the country was covered with a forest very difficult to be penetrated, would have been no easy task. Namskeket creek was best known to the first inhabitants of Plymouth; and this appears to have been the cause of Morton's supposition.

with brass, others with harts' horn, and others with eagles' claws. Many more no doubt were shot; for these we found were almost covered with leaves; yet, by the special providence of God, none of them either hit or hurt us. (45)

23. On Monday we found a very good harbour for our shipping. We marched also into the land, and found divers corn fields and little running brooks; a place very good for situation: so we returned to our ship again with good news, which did much comfort their hearts. This harbour is a bay greater than Cape Cod, compassed with goodly land, and in the bay two fine islands (46) uninhabited, wherein are nothing but woods, oaks, pines, walnut, beech, sassafras, vines, and other trees which we know not. This bay is a most hopeful place (47): innumerable store of fowl, and excellent good; and cannot but be fish in their seasons: Skate, cod, turbot (48), and herring, we have tasted of; abundance of muscles, the greatest and best we ever saw; crabs and lobsters in their time infinite. It is in fashion like a sickle or fish-hook.

24. The eighteenth, we went along the coast in the woods, some seven or eight mile (49), but saw not an Indian,

(45) For a narrative of the events, which took place between this skirmish and the landing at Plymouth, see Morton's Mem. p. 27, 28. and Prince's Ann. p. 77, 78.

(46) There is not at present but one island in the harbour of Plymouth. But there is a shoal called Brown's island, lying about a half of a mile east by north from Beach point. This, it is supposed, was once upland. There is a tradition, that stumps of trees have been seen here. The following extract from Winthrop's Journal, p. 87. will perhaps confirm this supposition. "A. D. 1635. Sep. 6. Two shallops going laden with goods to Connecticut, were taken in the night with an easterly storm, and cast away upon Brown's Islands, near the Gurnet's Nose, and the men all drowned."

(47) The experience of a few years convinced the inhabitants of Plymouth that the place was not so hopeful, as they had at first supposed.

(48) By turbot may be intended the flounder, or the halibut.

(49) Which ever way the travellers went, they could not have walked seven miles; because north-west, at the distance of four miles, they would have come to Jones' river in Kingston; and south-east, at the distance of three miles to Eel river. These rivers, though not large, cannot be denominated brooks. The latter then ran into the harbour of Plymouth; but at present its mouth is on the outside of Beach point.

dian, nor an Indian house; only we found where formerly had been some inhabitants, and where they had planted their corn. We found not any navigable river, but four or five running brooks of very fresh water, that all run into the sea. The land for the crust of the earth is a spit's depth, excellent black mould, and fat in some places: two or three great oaks, but not very thick, pines, walnuts, beech, ash, birch, hazel, holly, asp (50), sassafras in abundance, and vines every where, cherry trees, plum trees, and many others which we know not. Many kinds of herbs we found here in winter, as strawberry leaves innumerable, sorrel, yarrow, carvel, brooklime, liverwort, water-cresses, great store of leeks and onions, and an excellent strong kind of flax and hemp. Here is sand, gravel, and excellent clay, no better in the world, excellent for pots, and will wash like soap, and great store of stone, though somewhat soft, and the best water (51) that ever we drunk; and the brooks now begin to be full of fish (52). That night, many being weary with marching, we went aboard again.

25. The nineteenth of December, after our landing and viewing of the places so well as we could, we came to a conclusion, by most voices, to set on the main land, on the first place, on a high ground, where there is a great deal of land cleared, and hath been planted with corn three or four years ago; and there is a very sweet brook (53) runs under the hill side, and many delicate springs of as good water as can be drunk, and where we may harbour our shallops and boats exceeding well; and in this brook is much good fish in their seasons; on the further side of the river also much corn ground cleared (54). In one field is a great hill (55), on which we point to make a platform,

(50) Aspen.

(51) Plymouth is abundantly supplied with springs and brooks of excellent water.

(52) Eels and smelts enter the brooks of Plymouth in autumn; and frost fish, or tom-cods, in December.

(53) Now called Town brook. It issues from a pond, named Billington sea.

(54) At present denominated the Training green.

(55) On which the burying ground now is.

platform, and plant our ordnance; which will command all round about. From thence we may see into the bay, and far into the sea; and we may see from thence Cape Cod.

26. Saturday, the three and twentieth, so many of us as could went on shore, felled and carried timber, to provide themselves stuff for building. Monday, the five and twentieth, we went on shore, some to fell timber, some to saw, some to rive, and some to carry: so no man rested all that day.

27. Monday, the five and twentieth, being Christmas day, we began to drink water aboard; but at night the master caused us to have some beer; and so on board we had divers times now and then some beer, but on shore none at all. We took notice how many families they were, willing all single men, that had no wives, to join with some family, as they thought fit, that so we might build fewer houses; which was done, and we reduced them to nineteen families. To greater families we allotted larger plots; to every person half a pole in breadth, and three in length; and so lots were cast where every man should lie; which was done, and staked out. We thought this proportion was large enough at the first, for houses and gardens to impale them round, considering the weakness of our people, many of them growing ill with colds; for our former discoveries in frost and storms, and the wading at Cape Cod, had brought much weakness amongst us, which increased every day more and more, and after was the cause of many of our deaths.

28. Friday and Saturday we fitted ourselves for our labour; but our people on shore were much troubled and discouraged with rain and wet that day, being very stormy and cold. We saw great smokes of fire made by the Indians, about six or seven miles from us, as we conjectured.

29. Thursday, the fourth of January, Captain Miles Standish, with four or five more, went to see if they could meet with any of the savages in that place where the fires were made. They went to some of their houses, but not lately inhabited; yet could they not meet with any. As they came home, they shot an eagle and killed her, which

which was excellent meat; it was hardly to be discerned from mutton.

30. Tuesday, the ninth of January, was a reasonable fair day; and we went to labour that day in building of our town, in two rows of houses (56) for more safety. We divided by lot the plot of ground whereon to build our town, after the proportion formerly allotted. We agreed that every man should build his own house, thinking by that course men would make more haste than working in common. The common house (57), in which for the first we made our rendezvous, being near finished, wanted only covering, it being about twenty foot square. Some should make mortar, and some gather thatch; so that in four days half of it was thatched. Frost and foul weather hindred us much. This time of the year seldom could we work half the week.

31. On the twelfth day, John Goodman and Peter Brown at dinner time took their meat in their hands, and would go walk and refresh themselves. So going a little off, they find a lake of water (58), and having a great mastiff bitch with them and a spaniel. By the water side they found a great deer. The dogs chased him; and they followed so far as they lost themselves, and could not find the way back. They wandered all that afternoon, being wet; and at night it did freeze and snow. They were slenderly apparelled, and had no weapons, but each one his sickle, nor any victuals. They ranged up and down, and could find none of the savages' habitations. When it drew to night, they were much perplexed; for they could find neither harbour nor meat; but, in frost and snow, were forced to make the earth their bed, and the element their covering. And another thing did much terrify

(56) The same street, which leads from the meeting house to the water. This street is without a name. It has been proposed by several respectable gentlemen of Plymouth to call it Leyden street.

(57) Last year, in digging a cellar, sundry tools and a plate of iron were discovered, seven feet below the surface of the ground, on the place, where it is supposed that this common house stood.

(58) Probably Murdock's pond, about a quarter of a mile north-west from the court house.

terrify them: they heard, as they thought, two lions (59) roaring exceedingly for a long time, and a third, that they thought was very near them. So not knowing what to do, they resolved to climb up into a tree as the safest refuge, though that would prove an intolerable cold lodging. They stood at the tree's root, that when the lions came, they might take their opportunity of climbing up. The bitch they were fain to hold by the neck, for she would have been gone to the lion. But it pleased God so to dispose, that the wild beasts came not. So they walked up and down under the tree all night. It was an extreme cold night. So soon as it was light they travelled again, passing by many lakes (60), and brooks, and woods, and in one place where the savages had burnt the space of five miles in length, which is a fine champaign country, and even (61). In the afternoon it pleased God, from an high hill, they discovered the two isles in the bay; and so that night got to the plantation, being ready to faint with travel and want of victuals, and almost famished with cold. John Goodman was fain to have his shoes cut off his feet, they were so swelled with cold; and it was a long while after ere he was able to go.

32. The house was fired occasionally by a spark that flew into the thatch, which instantly burnt it all up; but the roof stood and little hurt. The most loss was Master Carver's and William Bradford's, who then lay sick in bed, and if they had not risen with good speed, had been blown up with powder; but, through God's mercy, they had no harm. The house was as full of beds as they could lie one by another, and their muskets charged; but, blessed be God, there was no harm done.

33. Monday,

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(59) Several of the first settlers of New England supposed, that the lion existed here. (See Coll. Hist. Soc. Vol. I. p. 119. and Wood's N. England Prospect. chap. vi.) But few readers need now to be informed that this animal is not to be found in America. Goodman and Brown, coming from England, where both the lion and the wolf are unknown, might easily, under the impression of fear, mistake the howling of the one for the roaring of the other. See par. 34.

(60) There is a great number of ponds in the township of Plymouth.

(61) A plain commences two miles from the town, and extends six miles south-west.

33. Monday, the fifteenth day, it rained much all day, that they on ship-board could not go on shore, nor they on shore do any labour, but were all wet. Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, were very fair sunshiny days, as if it had been in April; and our people, so many as were in health, wrought cheerfully.

34. The nineteenth day we resolved to make a shed to put our common provision in, of which some were already set on shore; but at noon it rained, that we could not work. This day, in the evening, John Goodman went abroad to use his lame feet, that were pitifully ill with the cold he had got, having a little spaniel with him. A little way from the plantation two great wolves ran after the dog: the dog ran to him and betwixt his legs for succour. He had nothing in his hand, but took up a stick and threw at one of them and hit him, and they presently ran both away, but came again. He got a pale board in his hand; and they sat both on their tails grinning at him a good while; and went their way and left him.

35. Saturday, the seventeenth day, in the morning, we called a meeting for the establishing of military orders amongst ourselves; and we chose Miles Standish for our captain, and gave him authority to command in affairs.

36. Saturday, the third of March, the wind was south, the morning misty, but towards noon warm and fair weather. The birds sang in the woods most pleasantly. At one of the clock it thundered, which was the first we heard in that country: it was strong and great claps, but short; but after an hour it rained very steady till midnight. Wednesday, the seventh of March, the wind was full east, cold, but fair.

37. Friday, the sixteenth, there presented himself a savage which caused an alarum. He very boldly came all alone, and along the houses, straight to the rendezvous, where we intercepted him, not suffering him to go in, as undoubtedly he would out of his boldness. He saluted us in English, and bade us welcome; for he had learned some broken English amongst the Englishmen that came to fish at Monhiggon, and knew by name the most of the captains, commanders, and masters, that usually come. He

He was a man free in speech, so far as he could express his mind, and of a seemly carriage. We questioned him of many things: he was the first savage we could meet withal. He said he was not of those parts, but of Morattiggon, and one of the *sagamores* or lords thereof: had been eight months in these parts, it lying hence a day's sail with a great wind, and five days by land. He discoursed of the whole country, and of every province, and of their sagamores, and their number of men, and strength. The wind beginning to rise a little, we cast a horseman's coat about him; for he was stark naked, only a leather about his waist, with a fringe about a span long, or little more. He had a bow and two arrows, the one headed, and the other unheaded. He was a tall, straight man; the hair of his head black, long behind, only short before; none on his face at all. He asked some beer; but we gave him strong-water and biscuit, and butter, and cheese, and pudding, and a piece of a mallard; all which he liked well, and had been acquainted with such amongst the English. He told us the place where we now live is called Patuxet, and that about four years ago all the inhabitants died of an extraordinary plague, and there is neither man, woman, nor child remaining, as indeed we have found none; so as there is none to hinder our possession, or lay claim unto it. All the afternoon we spent in communication with him. We would gladly have been rid of him at night, but he was not willing to go this night. Then we thought to carry him on ship-board, wherewith he was well content, and went into the shallop; but the wind was high and water scant, that it could not return back. We lodged [him] that night at Stephen Hopkins' house, and watched him.

38. The next day he went away back to the Massasoyts (62), from whence he said he came, who are our next bordering neighbours. They are sixty strong, as he saith. The Nausites are as near, south-east of them, and are a hundred strong; and those were they of whom our people were encountered

(62) The English, not understanding Samoset perfectly, supposed that by Massasoyt he meant an Indian tribe; but this was the name of the great sagamore, as appears afterwards in par. 41.

encountered, as we before related. They are much incensed and provoked against the English; and about eight months ago slew three Englishmen, and two more hardly escaped by flight to Monhiggon. They were Sir Ferdinando Gorges his men, as this savage told us; as he did likewise of the *huggery*, that is, fight, that our discoverers had with the Nausites; and of our tools that were taken out of the woods, which we willed him should be brought again, otherwise we would right ourselves. These people are ill affected toward the English by reason of one Hunt, a master of a ship, who deceived the people, and got them under colour of trucking with them, twenty out of this very place where we inhabit, and seven men from the Nausites, and carried them away, and sold them for slaves, like a wretch-man (for twenty pound a man) that care not what mischief he doth for his profit.

39. Saturday, in the morning, we dismissed the savage, and gave him a knife, a bracelet and a ring. He promised within a night or two to come again, and to bring with him some of the Massasoyts, our neighbours, with such beavers' skins as they had to truck with us.

40. Saturday and sunday, reasonable fair days. On this day came again the savage, and brought with him five other tall, proper men. They had every man a deer's skin on him; and the principal of them had a wild cat's skin, or such like, on the one arm. They had most of them long hosen up to their groins, close made; and above their groins, to their waist, another leather: they were altogether like the Irish trousers. They are of complexion like our English Gipsies; no hair, or very little on their faces; on their heads long hair to their shoulders, only cut before; some trussed up before with a feather, broad wise, like a fan; another a fox tail, hanging out. These left, according to our charge given him before, their bows and arrows a quarter of a mile from our town. We gave them entertainment, as we thought was fitting them. They did eat liberally of our English victuals. They made semblance unto us of friendship and amity. They sang and danced after their manner, like anticks. They brought with him in a thing like a bow-case, which the principal of them had about his waist, a little of their corn

corn pounded to powder (63), which put to a little water they ate. He had a little tobacco in a bag; but none of them drunk, but when he listed. Some of them had their faces painted black (64), from the forehead to the chin, four or five fingers broad: others after other fashions, as they liked. They brought three or four skins; but we would not truck with them all that day, but wished them to bring more, and we would truck for all; which they promised within a night or two, and would leave these behind them, though we were not willing they should; and they brought all our tools again, which were taken in the woods, in our men's absence (65). So because of the day we dismissed them, so soon as we could. But Samoset, our first acquaintance, either was sick, or feigned himself so, and would not go with them, and stayed with us till Wednesday morning. Then we sent him to them, to know the reason they came not according to their words; and we gave him a hat, a pair of stockings and shoes, a shirt, and a piece of cloth to tie about his waist.

41. Thursday, the twenty-secondth of March, was a fair warm day. About noon we met again about our publick business; but we had scarce been an hour together, but Samoset came again, and Squanto (66), the only native of Patuxet, where we now inhabit, who was one of the twenty captives that by Hunt were carried away, and had been in England, and dwelt in Cornhill with Master John Slanie, a merchant, and could speak a little English, with three others: and they brought with them some few skins to truck, and some red herrings, newly taken and dried, but not salted; and signified unto us, that their great sagamore, Massasoyt, was hard by, with Quadequina, his brother, and all their men. They could

(63) *Nokehick*, generally pronounced at present *nokake*, made of Indian corn, parched, and afterwards reduced to meal, and sifted through a basket. See Williams' Key, chap. II. and Gookin's Coll. chap. III. § 5.

(64) See Williams' Key, chap. XXX. and Gookin's Coll. chap. III. § 11.

(65) See Prince's Ann. p. 98.

(66) Or Tisqauntum. See par. 48.

could not well express in English what they would; but after an hour the king came to the top of an hill (67) over against us, and had in his train sixty men, that we could well behold them, and they us. We were not willing to send our governour to them, and they unwilling to come to us: so Squanto went again unto him, who brought word that we should send one to parley with him, which we did, which was Edward Winslow, to know his mind, and to signify the mind and will of our governour, which was to have trading and peace with him. We sent to the king a pair of knives, and a copper chain, with a jewel in it. To Quadequina we sent likewise a knife, and a jewel to hang in his ear, and withal a pot of strong water, a good quantity of biscuit, and some butter, which were all willingly accepted.

42. Our messenger made a speech unto him, That king James saluted him with words of love and peace, and did accept of him as his friend and ally; and that our governour desired to see him and to truck with him, and to confirm a peace with him as his next neighbour. He liked well of the speech, and heard it attentively, though the interpreters did not well express it. After he had eaten and drunk himself, and given the rest to his company, he looked upon our messenger's sword and armour which he had on, with intimation of his desire to buy it; but, on the other side, our messenger showed his unwillingness to part with it. In the end he left him in the custody of Quadequina, his brother, and came over the brook, and some twenty men following him, leaving all their bows and arrows behind them. We kept six or seven as hostages for our messenger. Captain Standish and Mr. Williamson met the king at the brook, with half a dozen musketeers. They saluted him, and he them: so one going over, the one on the one side, and the other on the other, conducted him to an house then in building, where we placed a green rug and three or four cushions. Then instantly came our governour, with a drum and trumpet after him, and some few musketeers. After salutations, our governour kissing his hand, the king

(67) Watson's hill, on the south side of Town brook.

king kissed him; and so they sat down. The governour called for some strong water, and drunk to him; and he drunk a great draught, that made him sweat all the while after. He called for a little fresh meat, which the king did eat willingly, and did give his followers. Then they treated of peace, which was:

43. First, that neither he nor any of his should injure or do hurt to any of our people.

Secondly, and if any of his did hurt to any of ours, he should send the offender, that we might punish him.

Thirdly, that if any of our tools were taken away, when our people were at work, he should cause them to be restored; and if ours did any harm to any of his, we would do the like to them.

Fourthly, if any did unjustly war against him, we would aid him: if any did war against us, he should aid us.

Fifthly, he should send to his neighbour confederates, to certify them of this, that they might not wrong us, but might be likewise comprised in the conditions of peace.

Sixthly, that when their men came ,they should leave their bows and arrows behind them, as we should do our pieces, when we came to them.

Lastly, that doing thus, king James would esteem of him as his friend and ally (68).

44. All which the king seemed to like well; and it was applauded of his followers. All the while he sat by the governour, he trembled for fear. In his person he is a very lusty man, in his best years, an able body, grave of countenance, and spare of speech; in his attire little or nothing differing from the rest of his followers, only in a great chain of white bone beads about his neck; and at it, behind his neck hangs a little bag of tobacco, which he drank and gave us to drink. His face was painted with a sad red like murrey; and oiled both head and face, that

(68) "This treaty, the work of one day, being honestly intended on both sides, was kept with fidelity as long as Massasoyt lived, but was afterward [in 1675] broken by Philip, his successor." Belknap's Biog. p. 214.

that he looked greasily. All his followers likewise were in their faces, in part or in whole, painted, some black, some red, some yellow, and some white; some with crosses and other antick works; some had skins on them, and some naked; all strong, tall men in appearance. The king had in his bosom, hanging in a string, a great long knife. He marvelled much at our trumpet; and some of his men would sound it as well as they could. Samoset and Squanto stayed all night with us; and the king and all his men lay all night in the wood, not above half an English mile from us, and all their wives and women with them. They said, that within eight or nine days they would come and set corn on the other side of the brook, and dwell there all summer, which is hard by us.

45. That night we kept good watch; but there was no appearance of danger. The next morning divers of their people came over to us, hoping to get some victuals, as we imagined. Some of them told us the king would have some of us come see him. Captain Standish and Isaac Alderton (69) went venterously, who were welcomed of him after their manner. He gave them three or four ground nuts and some tobacco. We cannot yet conceive, but that he is willing to have peace with us; for they have seen our people sometimes alone two or three in the woods at work and fowling, when as they offered them no harm, as they might easily have done; and especially because he hath a potent adversary, the Narrohigansets (70), that are at war with him, against whom he thinks we may be some strength to him, for our pieces are terrible unto them. This morning they stayed till ten or eleven of the clock; and our governour bid them send the king's kettle, and filled it with peas, which pleased them well; and so they went their way.

46. Friday was a very fair day. Samoset and Squanto still remained with us. Squanto went at noon to fish for eels. At night he came home with as many as he could lift in one hand; which our people were glad of. They were fat and sweet. He trod them out with his feet; and

(69) Generally spelled Allerton. Point Alderton, at the entrance of Boston harbour, takes its name from him. Hutch. Vol. II. p. 461.

(70) Written at present Narraganset.

and so caught them with his hands, without any other instrument.

47. This day we proceeded on with our common business, from which we had been so often hindered by the savages' coming; and concluded both of military orders, and of some laws and orders as we thought behooveful for our present estate and condition; and likewise chose our governour for this year, which was Master John Carver, a man well approved amongst us.

### *A Journey to Pakanokick.*

48. IT seemed good to the company, for many considerations, to send some amongst them to Massasoyt, the greatest commander amongst the savages, bordering about us; partly to know where to find them, if occasion served; as also to see their strength, discover the country, prevent abuses in their disorderly coming unto us, make satisfaction for some conceived injuries to be done on our parts, and to continue the league of peace and friendship between them and us. For these and the like ends, it pleased the governour to make choice of Stephen Hopkins and Edward Winslow, to go unto him; and having a fit opportunity by reason of a savage called Tisquantum (71), that could speak English, coming unto us: with all expedition provided a horseman's coat of red cotton, and laced with a slight lace, for a present, that both they and their message might be acceptable amongst them.

49. We set forward the tenth (72) of June, about nine o'clock in the morning, our guide resolving that night to rest at Namaschet (73), a town under Massasoyt, and conceived by us to be very near, because the inhabitants flocked so thick upon every slight occasion amongst us; but

(71) Or Squanto: See par. 41.

(72) "June 10th. being Lord's day, it is very unlikely that they set out then, and is also inconsistent with the rest of the Journal: whereas July 2d. is Monday, when Gov. Bradford says, We sent Mr. Edward Winslow, &c." Prince Ann. p. 105.

(73) Or Namasket: that part of Middleborough, which the English first began to settle. Coll. Hist. Soc. Vol. III. p. 148.

but we found it to be some fifteen miles. On the way we found some ten or twelve men, women, and children, which had pestered us till we were weary of them, perceiving that, as the manner of them all is, where victual is easiliest to be got, there they live, especially in the summer: by reason whereof, our bay affording many lobsters, they resort every spring tide thither; and now returned with us to Nameschet. Thither we came about three o'clock afternoon, the inhabitants entertaining us with joy, in the best manner they could; giving us a kind of bread, called by them *maizium*, and the spawn of shads, which they then got in abundance, in so much as they gave us spoons to eat them: With these they boiled musty acorns (74); but of the shads we eat heartily. After this they desired one of our men to shoot at a crow, complaining what damage they sustained in their corn by them, who shooting some fourscore off and killing, they much admired it, as other shots on other occasions. After this Tisquantum told us we should hardly in one day reach Pakanokick, moving us to go some eight miles further, where we should find more store and better victuals than there.

50. Being willing to hasten our journey, we went and came thither at sun setting; where we found many of the Namascheucks (they so calling the men of Namaschet) fishing upon a wear (75), which they had made on a river which belonged to them, where they caught abundance of bass. These welcomed us also, gave us of their fish, and we them of our victuals, not doubting but we should have enough wherever we came. There we lodged in the open fields; for houses they had none, though they spent the most of the summer there. The head of this river is reported to be not far from the place of our abode. Upon it are and have been many towns, it being a good length.

(74) See Gookin's Coll. chap. III. §. 5. and Williams' Key, chap. XVI.

(75) At Titicut, on Taunton river, in the north-west part of Middleborough, is a noted place, which was formerly called the Old Indian Wear. Though other wears have been erected on Taunton river, yet this is probably the place intended.

length. The ground is very good on both sides, it being for the most part cleared. Thousands of men have lived there, which died in a great plague not long since: and pity it was and is to see so many goodly fields, and so well seated, without men to dress and manure the same. Upon this river dwelleth Massasoyt.

51. The next morning we brake our fast, took our leave, and departed, being then accompanied with some six savages. Having gone about six miles by the river side, at a known shoal place (76), it being low water, they spake to us to put off our breeches, for we must wade thorough. Here let me not forget the valour and courage of some of the savages, on the opposite side of the river; for there were remaining alive only two men, both aged, especially the one, being above threescore. These two, espying a company of men entering the river, ran very swiftly, and low in the grass, to meet us at the bank, where with shrill voices and great courage, standing charged upon us with their bows, they demanded what we were, supposing us to be enemies, and thinking to take advantage on us in the water: but seeing we were friends, they welcomed us with such food as they had, and we bestowed a small bracelet of beads on them. Thus far we are sure the tide ebbs and flows.

52. Having here again refreshed ourselves, we proceeded in our journey, the weather being very hot for travel; yet the country so well watered, that a man could scarce be dry, but he should have a spring at hand to cool his thirst, beside small rivers in abundance. But the savages will not willingly drink but at a spring head. When we came to a small brook, where no bridge was, two of them desired to carry us through of their own accords; also fearing we were or would be weary, offered to carry our pieces; also, if we would lay off any of our clothes, we should have them carried: and as the one of them had found more special kindness from one of the messengers, and the other savage from the other, so they showed their thankfulness accordingly, in affording us help and furtherance in the journey.

53. As

(76) About six miles below Old Indian Wear is a noted wading place. The opposite shore of Taunton river is in Raynham.

53. As we passed along, we observed that there were few places by the river, but had been inhabited; by reason whereof much ground was clear, save of weeds, which grew higher than our heads. There is much good timber, both oak, walnut tree, fir, beech, and exceeding great chesnut trees.

54. After we came to a town of Massasoyt's, where we ate oysters and other fish. From thence we went to Pakanokick (77), but Massasoyt was not at home. There we stayed he being sent for. When news was brought of his coming, our guide, Tisquantum, requested that at our meeting we would discharge our pieces: but one of us going about to charge his piece, the women and children, through fear to see him take up his piece, ran away, and could not be pacified till he laid it down again; who afterward were better informed by our interpreter. Massasoyt being come, we discharged our pieces and saluted him; who, after their manner, kindly welcomed us, and took us into his house, and set us down by him, where, having delivered our message and presents, and having put the coat on his back, and the chain about his neck, he was not a little proud to behold himself, and his men also to see their king so bravely attired. For answer to our message, he told us we were welcome; and would gladly continue that peace and friendship, which was between him and us; and for his men, they should no more pester us, as they had done; also that he would send to Paomet, and would help us with corn for seed, according to our request.

55. This being done, his men gathered near unto him, to whom he turned himself, and made a speech; they sometime interposing, and, as it were, confirming and applauding him in that he said. The meaning whereof was, as far as we could learn, thus: Was not he, Massasoyt, commander of the country about them? Was not such a town his, and the people of it? And should they not bring their skins unto us? After this manner he named at least thirty places; and their answer was as aforesaid to every one: so that as it was delightful, it was

(77) Sometimes called Sowams. See Winslow. 50. and Belknap's Biog. Vol. II. p. 221.

was tedious unto us. This being ended, he lighted tobacco for us, and fell to discoursing of England and of the king's majesty, marvelling that he should live without a wife. Also he talked of the Frenchmen, bidding us not to suffer them to come to Narrohiganset, for it was king James his country, and he also was king James his man. Late it grew, but victuals he offered none; for indeed he had not any, being he came so newly home. So we desired to go to rest. He laid us on the bed with himself and his wife, they at the one end, and we at the other, it being only planks laid a foot from the ground, and a thin mat upon them. Two more of his chief men, for want of room, pressed by and upon us; so that we were worse weary of our lodging than of our journey.

56. The next day, being Thursday, many of their *sachims*, or petty governours, came to see us, and many of their men also. There they went to their manner of games for skins and knives. There we challenged them to shoot with them for skins; but they durst not: only they desired to see one of us shoot at a mark; who shooting with hail-shot, they wondered to see the mark so full of holes.

57. About one o'clock, Massasoyt brought two fishes that he had shot: They were like bream, but three times so big, and better meat (78). These being boiled, there were at least forty looked for a share in them. The most ate of them. This meal only we had in two nights and a day; and had not one of us bought a partridge, we had taken our journey fasting. Very importunate he was to have us stay with them longer. But we desired to keep the sabbath at home, and feared we should either be light-headed for want of sleep; for what with bad lodging, the savages' barbarous singing (for they used to sing themselves asleep) lice and fleas within doors, and musketoes without, we could hardly sleep all the time of our being there; we much fearing, that if we should stay any longer, we should not be able to recover home for want of strength. So that on Friday morning, before sun-rising, we took our leave and departed, Massasoyt being both grieved and ashamed

(78) "Probably the fish called tataug," says Dr. Belknap, Biog. Vol. II. p. 288.

ashamed, that he could not better entertain us; and retaining Tisquantum to send from place to place to procure truck for us; and appointing another, called Tokamahamon in his place, whom we had found faithful before and after upon all occasions.

*A Voyage made by ten of our men to Nauset, to seek a boy (79) that had lost himself in the woods.*

58. THE eleventh of June (80), we set forth toward Nauset, the weather being very fair: but ere we had been long at sea, there arose a storm of wind and rain, with much lightning and thunder, in so much that a spout arose not far from us. But, God be praised, it dured not long; and we put in that night for harbour at a place called Cummaquid (81), where we had some hope to find the boy. Two savages were in the boat with us: the one was Tisquantum, our interpreter, the other Tokamahamon, a special friend. It being night before we came in, we anchored in the midst of the bay, where we were dry at low water. In the morning, we espied savages seeking lobsters; and sent our two interpreters to speak with them, the channel being between them; where they told them what we were, and for what we were come, willing them not at all to fear us, for we would not hurt them. Their answer was, that the boy was well, but he was at Nauset; yet since we were there, they desired us to come ashore and eat with them; which as soon as our boat floated we did, and went six ashore, having four pledges for them in the boat. They brought us to their sachim, or governour, whom they call Iyanough (82) a man

(79) John Billington. Bradford's MS. Hist.

(80) "This date being inconsistent with several hints in the foregoing and following stories, I keep to Gov. Bradford's original manuscript, and place it between the end of July and the 13th. of August." Prince's Ann. p. 107.

(81) Barnstable harbour.

(82) Sometimes called Iyanough of Cummaquid, and sometimes Iyanough of Mattakees, or Mattachiest, a territory which included the east part of Barnstable and the west part of Yarmouth. Prince's Ann. p. 108. Gookin's Coll. chap. VIII. §. 2. Coll. Hist. Soc. Vol. III. p. 15.

man not exceeding twenty-six years of age, but very personable, gentle, courteous, and fair conditioned, indeed not like a savage, save for his attire. His entertainment was answerable to his parts, and his cheer plentiful and various.

59. One thing was very grievous unto us at this place. There was an old woman, whom we judged to be no less than an hundred years old, which came to see us, because she never saw English; yet could not behold us without breaking forth into great passion, weeping and crying excessively. We demanding the reason of it, they told us, she had three sons, who, when Master Hunt was in these parts, went aboard his ship to trade with him, and he carried them captives into Spain (for Tisquantum at that time was carried away also) by which means she was deprived of the comfort of her children in her old age. We told them we were sorry that any Englishman should give them that offence, that Hunt was a bad man, and that all the English that heard of it condemned him for the same; but for us, we would not offer them any such injury, though it would gain us all the skins in the country. So we gave her some small trifles, which somewhat appeased her.

60. After dinner we took boat for Nauset, Iyanough and two of his men accompanying us. Ere we came to Nauset the day and tide were almost spent; in so much as we could not go in with our shallop: but the sachim, or governour, of Cummaquid went ashore and his men with him. We also sent Tisquantum to tell Aspinet, the sachim of Nauset wherefore we came. After sun-set Aspinet came with a great train, and brought the boy with him, one bearing him through the water. He had not less than an hundred with him; the half whereof came to the shallop side, unarmed with him; the other stood aloof with their bows and arrows. There he delivered us the boy, behung with beads, and made peace with us, we bestowing a knife on him, and likewise on another that first entertained the boy and brought him thither. So they departed from us.

61. Here we understood that the Narrohigansets had spoiled some of Massasoyt's men, and taken him. This struck

struck some fear in us, because the colony was so weakly guarded, the strength thereof being abroad. But we set forth with resolution to make the best haste home we could; yet the wind being contrary, having scarce any fresh water left, and at least sixteen leagues (83) home we put in again for the shore. There we met again with Iyanough, the sachim of Cummaquid, and the most of his town, both men, women, and children with him. He, being still willing to gratify us, took a rundlet, and led our men in the dark a great way for water, but could find none good; yet brought such as there was on his neck with them. In the mean time the women joined hand in hand, singing and dancing before the shallop, the men also showing all the kindness they could, Iyanough himself taking a bracelet from about his neck, and hanging it upon one of us. By God's providence we came safely home that night.

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GOOD NEWS FROM NEW ENGLAND: OR A RELATION OF THINGS REMARKABLE IN THAT PLANTATION: WRITTEN BY E. WINSLOW, AND ABBREVIATED IN PURCHAS'S PILGRIMS, BOOK. X. CHAP. V. LONDON. 1625 (1).

1. THE good ship, called the Fortune, which in the month of November, 1621, blessed be God! brought us a new supply of five and thirty persons, was not long departed our coast, ere the great people of Nanohigganset (2) which are reported to be many thousands strong, began to breathe forth many threats against us, notwithstanding their desired and obtained peace with us in the foregoing summer: insomuch as the common talk of our neighbour Indians on all sides was of the preparation they made to come against us. In reason, a man would

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(83) The distance from Eastham to Plymouth is not more than twelve leagues.

(1) For the events in the history of Plymouth, between the conclusion of the foregoing paper and the commencement of this, see Prince's Ann. p. 108—115.

(2) Narraganset.

would think they should have now more cause to fear us, than before our supply came: but though none of them were present, yet understanding by others, that they neither brought arms nor other provisions with them, but wholly relied on us, it occasioned them to slight and brave us with so many threats as they did. At length came one of them to us, who was sent by Conauacus (3), their chief sachim or king, accompanied with one Tokamahamon, a friendly Indian. This messenger inquired for Tisquantum, our interpreter, who not being at home, seemed rather to be glad than sorry; and leaving for him a bundle of new arrows, lapped in a rattle-snake's skin, desired to depart with all expedition.

2. When Tisquantum returned, and the arrows were delivered, and the manner of the messenger's carriage related, he signified to the governour (4), that to send the rattle-snake's skin in that manner imported enmity, and that it was no better than a challenge. Hereupon, after some deliberation, the governour stuffed the skin with powder and shot, and sent it back, returning no less defiance to Conauacus, assuring him, if he had shipping now present thereby to send his men to Nanohigganset, the place of his abode, they should not need to come so far by land to us: yet withal showing that they should never come unwelcome or unlooked for. This message was sent by an Indian, and delivered in such sort, as it was no small terrour to this savage king; insomuch as he would not once touch the powder and shot, or suffer it to stay in his house or country. Whereupon the messenger refusing it, another took it up; and having been posted from place to place a long time, at length came whole back again.

3. In the mean time, knowing our own weakness, notwithstanding our high words and lofty looks towards them, and still lying open to all casualty, having as yet, under God, no other defence than our arms, we thought it needful to impale our town; which with all expedition we accomplished in the month of February, and some few days, taking in the top of the hill under which our town is

(3) Or Canonicus. Prince. 116.

(4) William Bradford.

is seated; making four bulwarks or jetties without the ordinary circuit of the pale, from whence we could defend the whole town; in three whereof are gates, and the fourth in time to be. This being done, Captain Standish divided our strength into four squadrons or companies, appointing whom he thought fit to have command of each; and at a general muster or training, appointed each his place, gave each his company, giving them charge, upon every alarum, to resort to their leaders, to their appointed place, and in his absence, to be commanded and directed by them. That done according to his order, each drew his company to his appointed place for defence, and there together discharged their muskets. After which they brought their new commanders to their houses, where again they graced them with their shot, and so departed. Fearing also lest the enemy, at any time, should take any advantage, by firing our houses, Captain Standish appointed a certain company, that whensoever they saw or heard fire to be cried in the town, should only betake themselves to their arms, and should enclose the house or place so endangered; and stand aloof on their guard, with their backs to the fire, to prevent treachery if any were in that kind intended. If the fire were in any of the houses of this guard, they were then freed from it, but not otherwise, without special command.

4. Long before this time we promised the people of Massachuset, in the beginning of March to come unto them, and trade for their furs; which being then come, we began to make preparation for that voyage. In the mean time an Indian, called Hobbamock, who still lived in the town, told us that he feared the Massachusets, or Massachuseuks, for they so called the people of that place, were joined in confederacy with the Nanohigganneuks, or people of Nanohigganset, and that they therefore would take this opportunity to cut off Captain Standish and his company abroad; but howsoever, in the mean time, it was to be feared that the Nanohigganeuks would assault the town at home; giving many reasons for his jealousy, as also that Tisquantum was in the confederacy, who, we should find, would use many persuasions to draw us from our

our shallops to the Indians' houses for their better advantage.

5. Notwithstanding the forenamed Captain with ten men, accompanied with Hobbamock and Tisquantum, set forwards for the Massachusets: but were no sooner turned the point of the harbour, called the Gurnet's Nose, where, being becalmed, we let fall our grapnel, to set things to rights, and prepare to row, but there came an Indian of Tisquantum's family, running to certain of our people, that were from home, with all eagerness, having his face wounded, and the blood still fresh on the same, calling to them to repair home, oft looking behind him, as if some others had him in chase; saying that at Namaschet, a town some fifteen miles from us, there were many of the Nanohigganscts, Massassowat (5) our supposed friend, and Conbatant (6), our feared enemy, with many others, with a resolution to take advantage on the present opportunity, to assault the town in the Captain's absence; affirming that he received the wound in his face for speaking in our behalf, and by flight escaped; looking oft backward, as if he suspected them to be at hand. This he affirmed again to the governour; whereupon he gave command, that three piece of ordnance should be made ready and discharged, to the end if we were not out of hearing, we might return thereat: Which we no sooner heard, but we repaired homeward with all convenient speed, arming ourselves, and making all in readiness to fight. When we entered the harbour, we saw the town likewise on their guard; whither we hasted with all convenient speed. The news being made known unto us, Hobbamock said flatly that it was false, assuring us of Massassowat's faithfulness. Howsoever he presumed he would never have undertaken any such act without his privity, himself being a *paniese* (7), that is, one of his chief champions or men of valor; it being the manner amongst them not to undertake such enterprises,

(5) Massasoyt, or Masassoit.

(6) Gov. Bradford, and after him Morton and Prince, write his name Corbitant. See Ann. 109.

(7) Prince spells this word Pinese. Ann. 108. See Belknap's Biog. II. 454.

enterprises, without the advice and furtherance of men of that rank.

6. The governour caused Hobbamock to send his wife with all privacy to Puckanokick (8), the chief place of Massassowat's residence, pretending other occasions, there to inform herself, and so us, of the right state of things. When she came thither, and saw all things quiet, and that no such matter was or had been intended, she told Massassowat what had happened at Plymouth, by them called Patuxet; which when he understood, he was much offended at the carriage of Tisquantum; returning many thanks to the governour for his good thoughts of him; and assuring him, that according to their first articles of peace, he would send word and give warning, when any such business was towards.

7. Thus by degrees we began to discover Tisquantum, whose ends were only to make himself great in the eyes of his countrymen, by means of his nearness and favour with us; not caring who fell, so he stood. In general his course was, to persuade them he could lead us to peace or war at his pleasure; and would oft threaten the Indians, sending them word in a private manner, we were intended shortly to kill them, that thereby he might get gifts to himself, to work their peace; insomuch as they had him in greater esteem than many of their sachims: yea they themselves sought to him, who promised them peace in respect of us, yea and protection also, so as they would resort to him. So that whereas divers were wont to rely on Massassowat for protection, and resort to his abode, now they began to leave him, and seek after Tisquantum. But when we understood his dealings, we certified all the Indians of our ignorance and innocency therein; assuring them, till they begun with us, they should have no cause to fear: and if any hereafter should raise any such reports, they should punish them as liars and seekers of their and our disturbance: which gave the Indians good satisfaction on all sides.

8. After this we proceeded in our voyage to the Massachusets; where we had good store of trade, and, blessed be God!

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(8) Pokanoket. Belkn. Biog.

God! returned in safety, though driven from before our town in great danger and extremity of weather.

9. At our return we found Massassowat at the plantation; who made his seeming just apology for all former matters of accusation, being much offended and enraged against Tisquantum; whom the governour pacified as much as he could for the present. But not long after his departure, he sent a messenger to the governour, entreating him to give way to the death of Tisquantum, who had so much abused him. But the governour answered: Although he deserved to die, both in respect of him and us; yet for our sakes he desired he would spare him; and the rather, because without him he knew not well how to understand himself, or any other the Indians.

10. With this answer the messenger returned; but came again not long after, accompanied with divers others, demanding him, from Massassowat their master, as being one of his subjects, whom by our first articles of peace we could not retain: yet because he would not willingly do it without the governour's approbation, offered him many beavers' skins for his consent thereto; saying, that according to their manner, their sachim had sent his own knife, and therewith to cut off his head and hands, and bring them to him.

11. To which the governour answered: It was not the manner of the English to sell men's lives at a price, but when they had deserved justly to die, to give them their reward; and therefore refused their beavers as a gift: but sent for Tisquantum; who, though he knew their intent, yet offered not to fly, but came and accused Hobbamock as the author and worker of his overthrow; yielding himself to the governour, to be sent or not, according as he thought meet.

12. But at the instant when our governour was ready to deliver him into the hands of his executioners, a boat was seen at sea to cross before our town, and fall behind a head-land not far off. Whereupon, having heard many rumours of the French, and not knowing whether there were any combination between the savages and them, the governour told the Indians, he would first know what boat that was, ere he would deliver him into their custody. But

But being mad with rage and impatient at delay, they departed in great heat.

13. Here let me not omit one notable, though wicked, practice of this Tisquantum; who, to the end he might possess his countrymen with the greater fear of us, and so consequently of himself, told them we had the plague buried in our store house; which, at our pleasure, we could send forth to what place or people we would, and destroy them therewith, though we stirred not from home. Being, upon the forenamed brabbles, sent for by the governour to this place, where Hobbamock was and some other of us, the ground being broke in the midst of the house, whereunder certain barrels of powder were buried, though unknown to him, Hobbamock asked him, what it meant? To whom he readily answered: That was the place, wherein the plague was buried, whereof he formerly told him and others. After this Hobbamock asked one of our people, whether such a thing were, and whether we had such a command of it? Who answered, No; but the God of the English had it in store, and could send it at his pleasure, to the destruction of his and our enemies.

14. This was, as I take it, about the end of May, 1622: at which time our store of victuals was wholly spent, having lived long before with a bare and short allowance. The reason was, that supply of men before mentioned, which came so unprovided, not landing so much as a barrel of bread or meal for their whole company, but contrariwise received from us for their ship's store homeward. Neither were the setters forth thereof altogether to be blamed therein; but rather certain amongst ourselves, who were too prodigal in their writing and reporting that plenty we enjoyed. But that I may return.

15. This boat proved to be a shallop, that belonged to a fishing ship, called the Sparrow, set forth by Master Thomas Weston, late merchant and citizen of London; which brought six or seven passengers at his charge, that should before have been landed at our plantation; who also brought no more provision for the present, than served the boat's gang for their return to the ship; which made her voyage at a place called Damarin's cove, near Munhiggen, some forty leagues from us north-eastward; about which

which place there fished above thirty sail of ships; and whither myself was employed by our governour, with orders to take up such victuals as the ships could spare; where I found kind entertainment and good respect, with a willingness to supply our wants: But not being able to spare that quantity I required, by reason of the necessity of some amongst themselves, whom they supplied before my coming, would not take any bills for the same; but did what they could freely, wishing their store had been such, as they might in greater measure have expressed their own love, and supplied our necessities; for which they sorrowed, provoking one another to the utmost of their abilities: which, although it was not much amongst so many people as were at the plantation; yet, through the provident and discreet care of the governours, recovered and preserved strength till our own crop on the ground was ready.

16. Having dispatched there, I returned home with all speed convenient; where I found the state of the colony much weaker than when I left it: for till now we were never without some bread; the want whereof much abated the strength and flesh of some, and swelled others. But here it may be said, if the country abound with fish and fowl in such measure as is reported, how could men undergo such measure of hardness, except through their own negligence? I answer, every thing must be expected in its proper season. No man, as one said, will go into an orchard in the winter, to gather cherries: so he that looks for fowl there in the summer, will be deceived in his expectation. The time they continue in plenty with us, is from the beginning of October to the end of March: but these extremities befel us in May and June. I confess, that as the fowl decrease, so fish increase. And indeed their exceeding abundance was a great cause of increasing our wants. For though our bay and creeks were full of bass and other fish; yet for want of fit and strong seines and other netting, they for the most part brake thorough, and carried all away before them. And though the sea were full of cod, yet we had neither tackling nor halsers for our shallops. And indeed had we not been in a place, where divers sort of shell fish are, that may be taken with the

the hand, we must have perished, unless God had raised some unknown or extraordinary means for our preservation.

17. In the time of these straits, indeed before my going to Munhiggen, the Indians began again to cast forth many insulting speeches, glorying in our weakness, and giving out how easy it would be ere long to cut us off. Now also Massassowat seemed to frown on us, and neither came or sent to us as formerly. These things occasioned further thoughts of fortification. And whereas we have a hill called the Mount, enclosed within our pale, under which our town is seated, we resolved to erect a fort thereon; from whence a few might easily secure the town from any assault the Indians can make, whilst the rest might be employed as occasion served. This work was begun with great eagerness, and with the approbation of all men, hoping that this being once finished, and a continual guard there kept, it would utterly discourage the savages from having any hopes or thoughts of rising against us. And though it took the greatest part of our strength from dressing our corn, yet, life being continued, we hoped God would raise some means in stead thereof for our further preservation.

18. In the end of June, or beginning of July, came into our harbour two ships of Master Weston's aforesaid; the one called the Charity, the other the Swan; having in them some fifty or sixty men, sent over at his own charge to plant for him. These we received into our town, affording them whatsoever courtesy our mean condition could afford. There the Charity, being the bigger ship, left them, having many passengers, which she was to land in Virginia. In the mean time the body of them refreshed themselves at Plymouth, whilst some more fit sought out a place for them. That little store of corn we had was exceedingly wasted by the unjust and dishonest walking of these strangers; who, though they would sometimes seem to help us in our labour, about our corn, yet spared not day and night to steal the same, it being then eatable and pleasant to taste, though green and unprofitable. And though they received much kindness, set light by it and us.

19. At length their coasters returned, having found in

in their judgment a place fit for plantation, within the bay of the Massachusets (9) at a place called by the Indians Wichaguscusset (10). To which place the body of them went with all convenient speed, leaving still with us such as were sick and lame, by the governour's permission, though on their parts undeserved; whom our surgeon, by the help of God, recovered gratis for them, and they fetched home, as occasion served.

20. They had not been long from us, ere the Indians filled our ears with clamours against them, for stealing their corn, and other abuses conceived by them. At which we grieved the more, because the same men, in mine own hearing, had been earnest in persuading Captain Standish, before their coming, to solicit our governour to send some of his men, to plant by them, alleging many reasons how it might be commodious for us. But we knew no means to redress those abuses, save reproof, and advising them to better walking, as occasion served.

21. In the end of August, came other two ships into our harbour. The one, as I take it, was called the Discovery, Captain Jones having the command thereof; the other was that ship of Master Weston's, called the Sparrow; which had now made her voyage of fish, and was consorted with the other, being both bound for Virginia. Of Captain Jones we furnished ourselves of such provisions as we most needed, and he could best spare; who, as he used us kindly, so made us pay largely for the things we had. And had not the Almighty, in his all-ordering providence, directed him to us, it would have gone worse with us, than ever it had been, or after was: for as we had now but small store of corn for the year following; so, for want of supply, we were worn out of all manner of trucking stuff, not having any means left to help ourselves by trade: but, through God's good mercy towards us, he had wherewith, and did supply our wants on that kind competently.

22. In the end of September, or beginning of October, Master Weston's biggest ship, called the Charity, returned for

(9) The harbor of Boston.

(10) Or Wessagusset, now called Weymouth. Hutch. I. 5.

for England, and left their colony sufficiently victualled, as some of most credit amongst them reported. The lesser, called the Swan, remained with his colony, for their further help. At which time they desired to join in partnership with us, to trade for corn; to which our governour and his assistant (11) agreed, upon such equal conditions, as were drawn and confirmed between them and us. The chief places aimed at were to the southward of Cape Cod; and the more, because Tisquantum, whose peace before this time was wrought with Massassowat, undertook to discover unto us that supposed, and still hoped, passage within the shoals.

23. Both colonies being thus agreed, our governour in his own person supplied the Captain's place; and, in the month of November, set forth, having Tisquantum for his interpreter and pilot; who affirmed he had twice passed within the shoals of Cape Cod, both with English and French. Nevertheless they went so far with him, as the master of the ship saw no hope of passage: but being, as he thought, in danger, bare up, and according to Tisquantum's directions, made for an harbour not far from them, at a place called Manamoyck (12); which they found, and sounding it with their shallop, found the channel, though but narrow and crooked; where at length they harboured the ship. Here they perceived that the tide set in and out with more violence at some other place more southerly, which they had not seen nor could discover, by reason of the violence of the season all the time of their abode there. Some judged the entrance thereof might be beyond the shoals; but there is no certainty thereof as yet known.

24. That night the governour, accompanied with others, having Tisquantum for his interpreter, went ashore. At first the inhabitants played least in sight, because none of our people had ever been there before; but understanding the ends of their coming, at length came to them, welcoming our governour according to their savage manner; refreshing them very well with store of venison and other victuals, which they brought them in great abundance;

(11) Isaac Allerton.
(12) Chatham.

dance; promising to trade with them, with a seeming gladness of the occasion. Yet their joy was mixed with much jealousy, as appeared by their after practices: for at first they were loth that their dwellings should be known; but when they saw our governour's resolution to stay on the shore all night, they brought him to their houses, having first conveyed all their stuff to a remote place, not far from the same; which one of our men, walking forth occasionally, espied: whereupon, on the sudden, neither it nor they could be found; and so many times after, upon conceived occasions, they would be all gone, bag and baggage. But being afterwards, by Tisquantum's means, better persuaded, they left their jealousy, and traded with them: where they got eight hogsheads of corn and beans, though the people were but few. This gave our governour and the company good encouragement; Tisquantum being still confident in the passage, and the inhabitants affirming they had seen ships of good burthen pass within the shoals aforesaid.

25. But here, though they had determined to make a second essay, yet God had otherwise disposed; who struck Tisquantum with sickness, insomuch as he there died; which crossed their southward trading, and the more, because the master's sufficiency was much doubted, and the season very tempestuous, and not fit to go upon discovery, having no guide to direct them.

26. From thence they departed; and the wind being fair for the Massachusets, went thither, and the rather, because the savages, upon our motion, had planted much corn for us, which they promised not long before that time. When they came thither, they found a great sickness to be amongst the Indians, not unlike the plague, if not the same. They renewed their complaints to our governour, against that other plantation seated by them, for their injurious walking. But indeed the trade both for furs and corn was overthrown in that place, they giving as much for a quart of corn, as we used to do for a beaver's skin: so that little good could be there done.

27. From thence they returned into the bottom of the bay of Cape Cod, to a place called Nauset; where the sachim used the governour very kindly, and where they bought

bought eight or ten hogsheads of corn and beans: also at a place called Mattachiest, where they had like kind entertainment and corn also. During the time of their trade in these parts, there were so great and violent storms, as the ship was much endangered, and our shallop cast away; so that they had now no means to carry the corn aboard that they had bought, the ship riding by their report well near two leagues from the same, her own boat being so small, and so leaky, having no carpenter with them, as they durst scarce fetch wood or water in her. Hereupon the governour caused the corn to be made in a round stack, and bought mats, and cut sedge, to cover it; and gave charge to the Indians not to meddle with it; promising him that dwelt next to it a reward, if he would keep vermin also from it; which he undertook, and the sachim promised to make good. In the mean time, according to the governour's request, the sachim sent men to seek the shallop; which they found buried almost in sand at a high water mark, having many things remaining in her, but unserviceable for the present; whereof the governour gave the sachim special charge, that it should not be further broken. And having procured a guide, it being no less than fifty miles to our plantation, set forward, receiving all respect that could be from the Indians in his journey; and came safely home, though weary and surbated (13); whither some three days after the ship also came.

28. The corn being divided, which they had got, Master Weston's company went to their own plantation; it being further agreed, that they should return with all convenient speed, and bring their carpenter, that they might fetch the rest of the corn, and save their shallop.

29. At their return, Captain Standish, being recovered and in health, took another shallop, and went with them to the corn, which they found in safety as they left it. Also they mended the other shallop, and got all their corn aboard the ship. This was in January, as I take it, it being very cold and stormy; insomuch as, the harbour being none of the best, they were constrained to cut both the shallops from the ship's stern; and so lost them both a second

(13) With galled feet.

second time. But the storm being over, and seeking out, they found them both, not having received any great hurt.

30. Whilst they were at Nauset, having occasion to lie on the shore, laying their shallop in a creek not far from them, an Indian came into the same, and stole certain beads, scissors, and other trifles out of the same; which, when the Captain missed, he took certain of his company with him, and went to the sachim, telling him what had happened, and requiring the same again, or the party that stole them, who was known to certain of the Indians; or else he would revenge it on them before his departure; and so took leave for that night, being late, refusing whatsoever kindness they offered. On the morrow the sachim came to their rendezvous, accompanied with many men, in a stately manner; who saluting the Captain in this wise: he thrust out his tongue, that one might see the root thereof, and therewith licked his hand from the wrist to the finger's end, withal bowing the knee, striving to imitate the English gesture, being instructed therein formerly by Tisquantum. His men did the like, but in so rude and savage a manner, as our men could scarce forbear to break out in open laughter. After salutation, he delivered the beads and other things to the Captain, saying he had much beaten the party for doing it; causing the women to make bread, and bring them, according to their desire; seeming to be very sorry for the fact, but glad to be reconciled. So they departed, and came home in safety; where the corn was equally divided as before.

31. After this the governour went to two other inland towns, with another company, and bought corn likewise of them. The one is called Namasket, the other Manomet (14). That from Namasket was brought home partly by Indian women; but a great sickness arising amongst them, our own men were enforced to fetch home the rest. That at Manomet the governour left in the sachim's custody.

32. This town lieth from us south, well near twenty miles; and stands upon a fresh river, which runneth into

(14) The part of Sandwich, which lies on Manomet river.

into the bay of Nanohigganset (15); and cannot be less than sixty miles from thence. It will bear a boat of eight or ten ton to this place. Hither the Dutch or French, or both, use to come. It is from hence to the bay of Cape Cod about eight miles (16); out of which bay it floweth into a creek some six miles, almost direct towards the town. The heads of the river and this creek are not far distant. This river yieldeth thus high oysters, muscles, clams, and other shell fish; one in shape like a bean, another like a clam; both good meat, and great abundance at all times: besides it aboundeth with divers sorts of fresh fish in their seasons.

33. The governour, or sachim, of this place was called Canacum; who had formerly, as well as many others, yea all with whom as yet we had to do, acknowledged themselves the subjects of our sovereign lord, the king. This sachim used the governour very kindly; and it seemed was of good respect and authority amongst the Indians. For whilst the governour was there, within night, in bitter weather, came two men from Manamoyck, before spoken of; and having set aside their bows and quivers, according to their manner, sat down by the fire, and took a pipe of tobacco, not using any words in that time, nor any other to them, but all remained silent, expecting when they would speak. At length they looked toward Canacum; and one of them made a short speech, and delivered a present to him from his sachim, which was a basket of tobacco and many beads, which the other received thankfully. After which he made a long speech to him; the contents hereof was related to us by Hobbamock,

(15) Manomet or Buzzard's bay, which Winslow mistakes for Narraganset bay.

(16) "This creek runs out easterly into Cape Cod bay at Scusset harbour; and this river runs out westerly into Manomet bay. The distance over land from bay to bay is but six miles. The river and creek nearly meet in a low ground: and this is the place, through which there has been a talk of making a canal, this forty years; which would be a vast advantage to all these countries, by saving the long and dangerous navigation round the Cape, and through the shoals adjoining." Prince. 106. A. D. 1736. See description of Sandwich. p. 122.

mock, who then accompanied the governour for his guide, to be as followeth. It happened that two of their men fell out, as they were in game (for they use gaming as much as any where, and will play away all, even their skin from their backs, yea their wive's skins also, though it may be they are many miles distant from them, as myself have seen) and growing to great heat, the one killed the other. The actor of this fact was a Powah (17), one of special note amongst them, and such an one as they could not well miss; yet another people greater than themselves threatened them with war, if they would not put him to death. The party offending was in hold; neither would their sachim do one way or other till their return, resting upon him for advice and furtherance in so weighty a matter. After this there was silence a short time. At length, men gave their judgment what they thought best. Amongst others, he asked Hobbamock what he thought. Who answered, He was but a stranger to them; but thought it was better that one should die than many, since he had deserved it, and the rest were innocent. Whereupon he passed the sentence of death upon him.

34. Not long after, having no great quantity of corn left, Captain Standish went again with a shallop to Mattachiest, meeting also with the like extremity of weather, both of wind, snow, and frost; insomuch as they were frozen in the harbour, the first night they entered the same. Here they pretended their wonted love, and spared them a good quantity of corn to confirm the same. Strangers also came to this place, pretending only to see him and his company, whom they never saw before that time, but intending to join with the rest to kill them, as after appeared. But being forced through extremity to lodge in their houses, which they much pressed, God possessed the heart of the Captain with just jealousy, giving strait command, that as one part of his company slept, the rest should wake, declaring some things to them which he understood, whereof he could make no good construction.

35. Some

(17) See Belkn. Biog. II. 452. Williams' Key. chap. XXI. Gookin. chap. III. §. 13. Hutch. I. 474.

35. Some of the Indians, espying a fit opportunity, stole some beads also from him; which he no sooner perceived, having not above six men with him, drew them all from the boat, and set them on their guard about the sachim's house, where the most of the people were: threatening to fall upon them without further delay, if they would not forthwith restore them; signifying to the sachim especially, and so to them all, that as he would not offer the least injury, so he would not receive any at their hands, which should escape without punishment or due satisfaction. Hereupon the sachim bestirred him to find out the party; which, when he had done, caused him to return again to the shallop, and came to the Captain, desiring him to search, whether they were not about the boat; who, suspecting their knavery, sent one, who found them lying openly upon the boat's cuddy. Yet to appease his anger, they brought corn afresh to trade; insomuch as he laded his shallop, and so departed. This accident so daunted their courage, as they durst not attempt any thing against him. So that, through the good mercy and providence of God, they returned in safety. At this place the Indians get abundance of bass both summer and winter; for it being now February, they abounded with them.

36. In the beginning of March, having refreshed himself, he took a shallop, and went to Manomet, to fetch home that which the governour had formerly bought, hoping to get more from them; but was deceived in his expectation, not finding that entertainment he found elsewhere, and the governour had there received. The reason whereof, and of the treachery intended in the place before spoken of, was not then known unto us, but afterwards: wherein may be observed the abundant mercies of God, working with his providence for our good. Captain Standish being now far from the boat, and not above two or three of our men with him, and as many with the shallop, was not long at Canacum, the sachim's house, but in came two of the Massachuset men. The chief of them was called Wituwamat, a notable insulting villain, one who had formerly imbrued his hands in the blood of English and French, and had oft boasted of his own valour, and derided their weakness, especially because,

because, as he said, they died crying, making sour faces, more like children than men.

37. This villain took a dagger from about his neck, which he had gotten of Master Weston's people, and presented it to the sachim; and after made a long speech in an audacious manner, framing it in such sort, as the Captain, though he be the best linguist amongst us, could not gather any thing from it. The end of it was afterward discovered to be as followeth. The Massachuseuks formerly concluded to ruinate Master Weston's colony; and thought themselves, being about thirty or forty men strong, enough to execute the same. Yet they durst not attempt it, till such time as they had gathered more strength to themselves, to make their party good against us at Plymouth; concluding, that if we remained, though they had no other arguments to use against us, yet we would never leave the death of our countrymen unrevenged; and therefore their safety could not be without the overthrow of both plantations. To this end they had formerly solicited this sachim, as also the other called Ianough (18) at Mattachiest, and many others, to assist them; and now again came to prosecute the same; and since there was so fair an opportunity offered by the Captain's presence, they thought best to make sure of him and his company.

38. After this message was delivered, his entertainment much exceeded the Captain's; insomuch as he scorned at their behaviour, and told them of it. After which they would have persuaded him, because the weather was cold, to have sent the boat for the rest of his company; but he would not, desiring, according to promise, that the corn might be carried down, and he would content the women (19) for their labour; which they did. At the same time there was a lusty Indian of Paomet (20), or Cape Cod, then present, who had ever demeaned himself well towards us, being in his general carriage very affable, courteous, and loving, especially towards the Captain. This

(18) Or Iyanough.

(19) See Belkn. Biog. II. 457. Williams' Key. chap. XVI. Gookin. chap. III. §. 3.

(20) Or Pamet, now called Truro.

This savage was now entered into confederacy with the rest; yet, to avoid suspicion, made many signs of his continued affections, and would needs bestow a kettle of some six or seven gallons on him, and would not accept of any thing in lieu thereof, saying he was rich, and could afford to bestow such favours on his friends whom he loved. Also he would freely help to carry some of the corn, affirming he had never done the like in his life before; and the wind being bad, would needs lodge with him at their rendezvous, having indeed undertaken to kill him before they parted; which done, they intended to fall upon the rest.

39. The night proved exceeding cold; insomuch as the Captain could not take any rest, but either walked, or turned himself to and fro at the fire. This the other observed, and asked wherefore he did not sleep as at other times; who answered, He knew not well, but had no desire at all to rest. So that he then missed his opportunity.

40. The wind serving on the next day, they returned home, accompanied with the other Indian; who used many arguments to persuade them to go to Paomet, where himself had much corn, and many other, the most whereof he would procure for us, seeming to sorrow for our wants. Once the Captain put forth with him, and was forced back by contrary wind; which wind served for the Massachuset, was fitted to go thither. But on a sudden it altered again.

41. During the time that the Captain was at Manomet, news came to Plymouth, that Massassowat was like to die, and that at the same time there was a Dutch ship driven so high on the shore by stress of weather, right before his dwelling, that till the tides increased, she could not be got off. Now it being a commendable manner of the Indians, when any, especially of note, are dangerously sick, for all that profess friendship to them, to visit them in their extremity, either in their persons, or else to send some acceptable persons to them: therefore it was thought meet, being a good and warrantable action, that as we had ever professed friendship, so we should now maintain the same, by observing this their laudable custom: and the rather, because we desired to have some conference with the Dutch,

Dutch, not knowing when we should have so fit an opportunity. To that end myself, having formerly been there, and understanding in some measure the Dutch tongue, the governour laid this service upon myself, and fitted me with some cordials to administer to him; having one Master John Hamden (21), a gentleman of London, who then wintered with us, and desired much to see the country, for my consort, and Hobbamock for our guide. So we set forward, and lodged the first night at Namasket, where we had friendly entertainment.

42. The next day, about one of the clock, we came to a ferry (22) in Conbatant's country, where upon discharge of my piece, divers Indians came to us, from a house not far off. There they told us, that Massassowat was dead, and that day buried; and that the Dutch would be gone before we could get thither, having hove off their ship already. This news struck us blank; but especially Hobbamock, who desired we might return with all speed. I told him I would first think of it, considering now, that he being dead, Conbatant was the most like to succeed him, and that we were not above three miles from Mattapuyst (23), his dwelling place. Although he were but a hollow-hearted friend towards us, I thought no time so fit as this to enter into more friendly terms with him, and the rest of the sachims thereabout; hoping, through the blessing of God, it would be a means, in that unsettled state, to settle their affections towards us; and though it were somewhat dangerous, in respect of our personal safety, because myself and Hobbamock had been employed upon a service against him (24), which he might now fitly revenge; yet esteeming it the best means, leaving the event to God in his mercy, I resolved to put it in practice, if Master Hamden and Hobbamock durst attempt

(21) Dr. Belknap supposes this to be the same person, who distinguished himself by his opposition to the illegal and arbitrary demands of king Charles I. Biog. II. 229.

(22) Probably the same which is now called Slade's Ferry in Swanzey. Belkn. Biog. II. 292.

(23) A neck of land, in the township of Swanzey, commonly pronounced Mattapoiset. Belkn. *ibid.*

(24) See Prince. 110.

attempt it with me; whom I found willing to that or any other course might tend to the general good. So we went towards Mattapuyst.

43. In the way, Hobbamock, manifesting a troubled spirit, brake forth into these speeches. *Neen womasu Sagimus, neen womasu Sagimus*, &c. My loving sachim, my loving sachim! Many have I known, but never any like thee. And turning to me, he said: Whilst I lived, I should never see his like amongst the Indians; saying, he was no liar; he was not bloody and cruel, like other Indians. In anger and passion he was soon reclaimed; easy to be reconciled towards such as had offended him; ruled by reason in such measure as he would not scorn the advice of mean men; and that he governed his men better with few strokes, than others did with many; truly loving where he loved; yea, he feared we had not a faithful friend left among the Indians; showing how he oft-times restrained their malice, &c. continuing a long speech, with such signs of lamentation and unfeigned sorrow, as it would have made the hardest heart relent.

44. At length we came to Mattapuyst, and went to the *sachimo comaco*, for so they called the sachim's place, though they call an ordinary house *witeo;* but Conbatant, the sachim, was not at home, but at Puckanokick, which was some five or six miles off. The *squa-sachim*, for so they call sachim's wife, gave us friendly entertainment. Here we inquired again concerning Massassowat: they thought him dead, but knew no certainty. Whereupon I hired one to go with all expedition to Puckanokick, that we might know the certainty thereof, and withal to acquaint Conbatant with our there being. About half an hour before sun-setting the messenger returned, and told us that he was not yet dead, though there was no hope we should find him living. Upon this we were much revived, and set forward with all speed, though it was late within night ere we got thither. About two of the clock, that afternoon, the Dutchman departed; so that in that respect our journey was frustrate.

45. When we came thither, we found the house so full of men, as we would scarce get in, though they used their best diligence to make way for us. There were they in

in the midst of their charms for him, making such a hellish noise, as it distempered us that were well, and therefore unlike to ease him that was sick. About him were six or eight women, who chafed his arms, legs, and thighs, to keep heat in him. When they had made an end of their charming, one told him that his friends, the English, were come to see him. Having understanding left, but his sight was wholly gone, he asked, who was come? They told him Winsnow, for they cannot pronounce the letter *l*, but ordinarily *n* in the place thereof. He desired to speak with me. When I came to him, and they told him of it, he put forth his hand to me, which I took. Then he said twice, though very inwardly, *Keen Winsnow?* which is to say, Art thou Winslow? I answered, *Ahhe*, that is, Yes. Then he doubled these words: *Matta neen wonckanet namen, Winsnow!* that is to say, O Winslow, I shall never see thee again.

46. Then I called Hobbamock, and desired him to tell Massassowat, that the governour, hearing of his sickness, was sorry for the same; and though, by reason of many businesses, he could not come himself, yet he sent me with such things for him, as he thought most likely to do him good in this extremity; and whereof if he pleased to take, I would presently give him; which he desired; and having a confection of many comfortable conserves, on the point of my knife, I gave him some, which I could scarce get thorough his teeth. When it was dissolved in his mouth, he swallowed the juice of it; whereat those that were about him much rejoiced, saying, he had not swallowed any thing in two days before. Then I desired to see his mouth, which was exceedingly furred, and his tongue swelled in such a manner, as it was not possible for him to eat such meat as they had, his passage being stopped up. Then I washed his mouth, and scraped his tongue, and got abundance of corruption out of the same. After which I gave him more of the confection, which he swallowed with more readiness. Then he desired to drink. I dissolved some of it in water, and gave him thereof. Within half an hour this wrought a great alteration in him, in the eyes of all that beheld him. Presently after his sight began to come to him. In the mean

mean time I inquired how he slept, and when he went to stool? They said, he slept not in two days before, and had not had a stool in five. Then I gave him more, and told him of a mishap we had, in breaking a bottle of drink, which the governour also sent him, saying if he would send any of his men to Patuxet, I would send for more of the same; also for chickens to make him broth, and for other things, which I knew were good for him; and would stay the return of his messenger, if he desired. This he took marvellous kindly, and appointed some, who were ready to go by two of the clock in the morning; against which time I made ready a letter, declaring therein our good success, the state of his body, &c. desiring to send such things as I sent for, and such physick as the surgeon durst administer to him.

47. He requested me, that the day following, I would take my piece, and kill him some fowl, and make him some English pottage, such as he had eaten at Plymouth; which I promised. After, his stomach coming to him, I must needs make him some without fowl, before I went abroad, which somewhat troubled me; but being I must do somewhat, I caused a woman to bruise some corn, and take the flour from it, and set over the grit, or broken corn, in a pipkin, for they have earthen pots of all sizes. When the day broke, we went out, it being now March, to seek herbs, but could not find any but strawberry leaves, of which I gathered a handful, and put into the same; and because I had nothing to relish it, I went forth again, and pulled up a sassafras root, and sliced a piece thereof, and boiled it, till it had a good relish, and then took it out again. The broth being boiled, I strained it thorough my handkerchief, and gave him at least a pint, which he drank, and liked it very well. After this his sight mended more and more; also he had three moderate stools, and took some rest: insomuch as we with admiration blessed God for giving his blessing to such raw and ignorant means, making no doubt of his recovery, himself and all of them acknowledging us the instruments of his preservation. That morning he caused me to spend in going from one to another; amongst those that were sick in the town, requesting me to wash their mouths also,

also, and give to each of them some of the same I gave him, saying they were good folk. This pains I took with willingness, though it were much offensive to me, not being accustomed with such poisonous savours.

48. The messengers were now returned; but finding his stomach come to him, he would not have the chickens killed, but kept them for breed. Neither durst we give him any physick, which was then sent, because his body was so much altered since our instructions; neither saw we any need, not doubting now of his recovery, if he were careful. Many, whilst we there, came to see him; some, by their report, from a place, not less than an hundred miles. Upon this his recovery, he brake forth into these speeches: Now I see the English are my friends and love me; and whilst I live, I will never forget this kindness they have showed me. Whilst we were there, our entertainment exceeded all other strangers.

49. At our coming away, he called Hobbamock to him, and privately (none hearing, save two or three other of his panieses, who are of his council) revealed the plot of the Massachuseuks, before spoken of, against Master Weston's colony, and so against us; saying that the people of Nauset, Paomet, Succonet (25), Mattachiest, Manomet, Agowaywam (26), and the isle of Capawack (27), were joined with them; himself also in his sickness was earnestly solicited, but he would neither join therein, nor give way to any of his. Therefore as we respected the lives of our countrymen and our own safety, he advised us to kill the men of Massachuset, who were the authors of this intended mischief. And whereas we were wont to say, we would not strike a stroke till they first began; If, said he, upon this intelligence, they make that answer, tell them, when their countrymen at Wichaguscusset are killed, they not being able to defend themselves, that then it will be too late to recover their lives; nay, thorough the multitude of adversaries, they shall with great difficulty preserve their own; and therefore he counselled, without

(25) Probably Sokones, or Succonusset, now called Falmouth.

(26) Or Agawam, part of Wareham.

(27) Martha's Vineyard.

without delay to take away the principals, and then the plot would cease. With this he charged him thoroughly to acquaint me by the way, that I might inform the governour thereof, at my first coming home. Being fitted for our return, we took our leave of him; who returned many thanks to our governour, and also to ourselves for our labour and love: the like did all that were about him. So we departed.

50. That night, thorough the earnest request of Conbatant, who till now remained at Sawaams, or Puckanokick, we lodged with him at Mattapuyst. By the way I had much conference with him, so likewise at his house, he being a notable politician, yet full of merry jests and squibs, and never better pleased, than when the like are returned again upon him. Amongst other things he asked me, If in case he were thus dangerously sick, as Massassowat had been, and should send word thereof to Patuxet for *maskiet*, that is, physick, whether then Master Governour would send it? and if he would, whether I would come therewith to him? To both which I answered, Yea; whereat he gave me many joyful thanks. After that, being at his house, he demanded further, How we durst, being but two, come so far into the country? I answered, Where was true love, there was no fear; and my heart was so upright towards them, that for my own part I was fearless to come amongst them. But, said he, If your love be such, and it bring forth such fruits, how cometh it to pass, that when we come to Patuxet, you stand upon your guard, with the mouths of your pieces presented towards us? Whereupon I answered, It was the most honourable and respective entertainment we could give them; it being an order amongst us so to receive our best respected friends; and as it was used on the land, so the ships observed it also at sea, which Hobbamock knew and had seen it observed. But shaking the head, he answered, that he liked not such salutations.

51. Further, observing us to crave a blessing on our meat before we did eat, and after to give thanks for the same, he asked us, what was the meaning of that ordinary custom? Hereupon I took occasion to tell them of God's works of creation and preservation, of the laws and ordinances,

dinances, especially of the ten commandments; all which they hearkened unto with great attention, and liked well of; only the seventh commandment they excepted against, thinking there were many inconveniences in it, that a man should be tied to one woman; about which we reasoned a good time. Also I told them, that whatsoever good things we had, we received from God, as the author and giver thereof; and therefore craved his blessing upon that we had, and were about to eat, that it might nourish and strengthen our bodies; and having eaten sufficiently, being satisfied therewith, we again returned thanks to the same our God, for that our refreshing, &c. This all of them concluded to be very well; and said, they believed almost all the same things, and that the same power that we called God, they called *Kiehtan* (28). Much profitable conference was occasioned hereby, which would be too tedious to relate, yet was no less delightful to them, than comfortable to us. Here we remained only that night, but never had better entertainment amongst any of them.

52. The day following, in our journey, Hobbamock told me of the private conference he had with Massassowat, and how he charged him perfectly to acquaint me therewith, as I showed before; which being done, he used many arguments himself to move us thereunto. That night we lodged at Namasket; and the day following, about the mid-way between it and home, we met two Indians, who told us, that Captain Standish was that day gone to the Massachusets. But contrary winds again drove him back; so that we found him at home; where the Indian of Paomet still was, being very importunate that the Captain should take the first opportunity of a fair wind to go with him. But their secret and villanous purposes being, thorough God's mercy, now made known, the governour caused Captain Standish to send him away, without any distaste or manifestation of anger, that we might the better effect and bring to pass that which should be thought most necessary.

53. Before this journey we heard many complaints, both by the Indians, and some others of best desert amongst Master Weston's colony, how exceedingly their company abased

(28) See Belkn. Biog. II. 451.

abased themselves by undirect means, to get victuals from the Indians, who dwelt not far from them, fetching them wood and water, &c. and all for a meal's meat; whereas, in the mean time, they might with diligence have gotten enough to have served them three or four times. Other by night brake the earth, and robbed the Indians' store; for which they had been publickly stocked and whipped, and yet was there small amendment. This was about the end of February; at which time they had spent all their bread and corn, not leaving any for seed, neither would the Indians lend or sell them any more upon any terms. Hereupon they had thought to take it by violence; and to that spiked up every entrance into their town, being well impaled, save one, with a full resolution to proceed. But some more honestly minded advised John Sanders, their overseer, first to write to Plymouth; and if the governour advised him thereunto, he might the better do it. They sent; and our governour writ divers reasons of dislike. With these letters we dispatched the messenger: upon the receipt whereof they altered their determination, resolving to shift as they could, till the return of John Sanders from Munhiggen; who first coming to Plymouth, notwithstanding our own necessities, the governour spared him some corn, to carry them to Munhiggen. But not having sufficient for the ship's store, he took a shallop, and leaving others with instructions to oversee things till his return, set forward about the end of February: so that he knew not of this conspiracy of the Indians before his going; neither was it known to any of us till our return from Sawaams, or Puckanokick: at which time also another sachim, called Wassapinewat, brother to Obtakiest, the sachim of the Massachusets, who had formerly smarted for partaking with Conbatant, and fearing the like again, to purge himself, revealed the same thing.

54. The three and twentieth of March being now come, which is a yearly court day, the governour, having a publick testimony, and many circumstances agreeing with the truth thereof, not being to undertake war without the consent of the body of the company, made known the same in publick court. We came to this conclusion, that Captain Standish should take so many men, as he thought

thought sufficient to make his party good against all the Indians in the Massachuset bay; and because, as all men know that have to do with them in that kind, it is impossible to deal with them upon open defiance, but to take them in such traps as they lay for others; therefore he should pretend trade as at other times: but first go to the English, and acquaint them with the plot, and the end of his own coming, that comparing it with their carriages towards them, he might better judge of the certainty of it, and more fitly take opportunity to revenge the same: but should forbear, if it were possible, till such time as he could make sure Wituwamat, that bloody and bold villian before spoken of; whose head he had order to bring with him, that he might be a warning and terrour to all that disposition.

55. Upon this Captain Standish made choice of eight men, and would not take more, because he would prevent jealousy, knowing their guilty consciences would soon be provoked thereunto. But on the next day, before he could go, came one of Master Weston's company by land unto us, with his pack at his back, who made a pitiful narration of their lamentable and weak estate, and of the Indians' carriages, whose boldness increased abundantly; insomuch as the victuals they got, they would take it out of their pots, and eat before their faces; yea, if in any thing they gainsaid them, they were ready to hold a knife at their breasts: that to give them content, since John Sanders went to Munhiggen, they had hanged (29) one of them that stole their corn, and yet they regarded it not: that another of their company was turned savage: that their people had most forsaken the town, and made their rendezvous where they got their victuals, because they would not take pains to bring it home: that they had sold their clothes for corn, and were ready to starve both with cold and hunger also, because they could not endure to get victuals by reason of their nakedness: and that they were dispersed into three companies, scarce having any powder and shot left. As this relation was grievous to us, so it gave us good encouragement to proceed

(29) See Butler's Hudibras. part ii. canto ii. line 403, &c. and Belkn. Biog. II. 318.

ceed in our intendments, for which Captain Standish was now fitted; and the wind coming fair, the next day set forth for the Massachusets.

56. The Indians at the Massachusets missed this man; and suspecting his coming to us, as we conceive, sent one after him, and gave out that he would never come to Patuxet, but that some wolves or bears would eat him: but we know, *not* (30) by our own experience, and the reports of others, that though they find a man sleeping, yet so soon as there is life discerned, they fear and shun him. This Indian missed him but very little; and missing him, passed by the town and went to Manomet: whom we hoped to take at his return, as afterward we did. Now was our fort made fit for service, and some ordnance mounted; and though it may seem long work, it being ten months since it begun; yet we must note, that where so great a work is begun with such small means, a little time cannot bring it to perfection. Beside, those works which tend to the preservation of man, the enemy of mankind will hinder what in him lieth, sometimes blinding the judgment, and causing reasonable men to reason against their own safety. The Indian last mentioned, in his return from Manomet, came through the town, pretending still friendship and in love to see us; but as formerly others, so his end was to see, whether we continued still in health and strength, or fell into weakness, like their neighbours; which they hoped and looked for, (though God in his mercy provided better for us) and he knew would be glad tidings to his countrymen. But here the governour stayed him; and sending for him to the fort, there gave the guard charge of him as their prisoner; where he told him he must be contented to remain, till the return of Captain Standish from the Massachusets. So he was locked in a chain to a staple in the court of guard, and there kept. Thus was our fort hanselled, this being the first day, as I take it, that ever any watch was there kept.

57. The Captain being now come to the Massachusets, went first to the ship; but found neither man, or so much as a dog therein. Upon the discharge of a musket, the master

(30) The word *not* is probably an errour of the press.

master and some others of the plantation showed themselves, who were on the shore gathering ground nuts, and getting other food. After salutation, Captain Standish asked them, how they durst so leave the ship, and live in such security? who answered like men senseless of their own misery, they feared not the Indians, but lived and suffered them to lodge with them, not having sword or gun, or needing the same. To which the Captain answered, if there were no cause, he was the gladder. But, upon further inquiry, understanding that those in whom John Sanders had reposed most special confidence, and left in his stead to govern the rest, were at the plantation, thither he went; and, to be brief, made known the Indians' purpose, and the end of his own coming, as also, which formerly I omitted, that if afterward they durst not there stay, it was the intendment of the governours and people of Plymouth there to receive them, till they could be better provided: but if they conceived of any other course, that might be more likely for their good, that himself should further them therein to the uttermost of his power. These men, comparing other circumstances with what they now heard, answered, they could expect no better; and it was God's mercy, that they were not killed before his coming; desiring therefore that he would neglect no opportunity to proceed. Hereupon he advised them to secrecy, yet withal to send special command to one third of their company, that were furthest off, to come home, and there enjoin them on pain of death to keep the town, himself allowing them a pint of Indian corn to a man for a day, though that store he had was spared out of our seed. The weather proving very wet and stormy, it was the longer before he could do any thing.

58. In the mean time an Indian came to him, and brought some furs, but rather to gather what he could from the Captain's, than coming then for trade: and though the Captain carried things as smoothly as possibly he could; yet at his return, he reported he saw by his eyes, that he was angry in his heart; and therefore began to suspect themselves discovered. This caused one Pecksuot, who was a paniese, being a man of notable spirit, to

to come to Hobbamock, who was then with them, and told him, he understood that the Captain was come to kill himself and the rest of the savages there. Tell him, said he, we know it, but fear him not, neither will we shun him; but let him begin when he dare, he will not take us unawares. Many times after, divers of them severally, or few together, came to the plantation to him; where they would whet and sharpen the point of their knives before his face, and use many other insulting gestures and speeches. Among the rest Wituwamat bragged of the excellency of his knife. On the end of the handle there was pictured a woman's face; but, said he, I have another at home, wherewith I have killed both French and English, and that hath a man's face on it; and by and by these two must marry. Further he said of that knife he there had; *Hinnaim namen, hinnaim michen, matta cuts;* that is to say, By and by it should see, and by and by it should eat, but not speak. Also Pecksuot, being a man of greater stature than the Captain, told him, though he were a great captain, yet he was but a little man: and said he, though I be no sachim, yet I am a man of great strength and courage. These things the Captain observed, yet bare with patience for the present.

59. On the next day, seeing he could not get many of them together at once, and this Pecksuot and Wituwamat both together, with another man, and a youth of some eighteen years of age, which was brother to Wituwamat, and villain like trod in his steps, daily putting many tricks upon the weaker sort of men, and having about as many of his own company in a room with them, gave the word to his men, and the door being fast shut, began himself with Pecksuot, and snatching his own knife from his neck, though with much struggling, killed him therewith, the point whereof he had made as sharp as a needle, and ground the back also to an edge. Wituwamat and the other man the rest killed, and took the youth, whom the Captain caused to be hanged. But it is incredible how many wounds these two panieses received before they died, not making any fearful noise, but catching at their weapons and striving to the last. Hobbamock stood by all this time, and meddled not, observing how our men demeaned

demeaned themselves in this action. All being here ended, smiling, he brake forth into these speeches to the Captain: Yesterday Pecksuot, bragging of his own strength and stature, said, though you were a great captain, yet you were but a little man; but to day I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground. But to proceed; there being some women at the same time, Captain Standish left them in the custody of Master Weston's people at the town, and sent word to another company, that had intelligence of things, to kill those Indian men that were amongst them. These killed two more. Himself also with some of his own men went to another place, where they killed another; and through the negligence of one man, an Indian escaped, who discovered and crossed their proceedings.

60. Not long before this execution, three of Master Weston's men, which more regarded their bellies than any command or commander, having formerly fared well with the Indians for making them canoes, went again to the sachim to offer their service, and had entertainment. The first night they came thither, within night, late came a messenger with all speed, and delivered a sad and short message. Whereupon all the men gathered together, put on their boots and breeches, trussed up themselves, and took their bows and arrows and went forth, telling them they went a hunting, and that at their return they should have venison enough. Being now gone, one more ancient and wise than the rest, calling former things to mind, especially the Captain's presence, and the strait charge, that on pain of death none should go a musket shot from the plantation; and comparing this sudden departure of theirs therewith, began to dislike and wish himself at home again, which was further off than divers other dwelt. Hereupon he moved his fellows to return, but could not pursuade them. So there being none but women left, and the other that was turned savage, about mid-night came away, forsaking the paths, lest he should be pursued, and by this means saved his life.

61. Captain Standish took the one half of his men, and one or two of Master Weston's, and Hobbamock, still seeking to make spoil of them and theirs. At length they

they espied a file of Indians, which made towards them amain; and there being a small advantage in the ground, by reason of a hill near them, both companies strove for it. Captain Standish got it; whereupon they retreated, and took each man his tree, letting fly their arrows amain, especially at himself and Hobbamock: whereupon Hobbamock cast off his coat, and being a known paniese, theirs being now killed, chased them so fast, as our people were not able to hold way with him; insomuch as our men could have but one certain mark, and then but the arm and half face of a notable villain, as he drew at Captain Standish; who together with another both discharged at him, and brake his arm; whereupon they fled into a swamp. When they were in the thicket, they parleyed, but to small purpose, getting nothing but foul language. So our Captain dared the sachim to come out and fight like a man, showing how base and womanlike he was in tonguing it as he did: but he refused and fled. So the Captain returned to the plantation; where he released the women, and would not take their beaver coats from them, nor suffer the least discourtesy to be offered them.

62. Now were Master Weston's people resolved to leave their plantation, and go for Munhiggen, hoping to get passage and return with the fishing ships. The Captain told them, that for his own part he durst there live with fewer men than they were; yet since they were otherways minded, according to his order from the governours and people of Plymouth, he would help them with corn competent for their provision by the way; which he did, scarce leaving himself more than brought them home. Some of them disliked the choice of the body to go to Munhiggen; and therefore desiring to go with him to Plymouth, he took them into the shallop: and seeing them set sail, and clear of the Massachuset bay, he took leave and returned to Plymouth; whither he came in safety, blessed be God! and brought the head of Wituwamat with him.

63. Amongst the rest, there was an Indian youth, that was ever of a courteous and loving disposition towards us. He, notwithstanding the death of his countrymen, came to the Captain without fear, saying, his good conscience

science and love towards us imboldened him so to do. This youth confessed, that the Indians intended to kill Master Weston's people, and not delay any longer than they had two more canoes or boats, which Master Weston's men would have finished by this time, having made them three already, had not the Captain prevented him; and the end of stay for those boats was to take their ship therewith.

64. Now was the Captain returned and received with joy, the head being brought to the fort and there set up. The governours and captains with divers others went up the same further, to examine the prisoner, who looked piteously on the head. Being asked, whether he knew it, he answered, Yea. Then he confessed the plot, and that all the people provoked Obtakiest, their sachim, thereunto, being drawn to it by their importunity. Five there were, he said, that prosecuted the same with more eagerness than the rest. The two principal were killed, being Pecksuot and Wituwamat, whose head was there: the other three were powahs, being yet living, and known unto us, though one of them was wounded, as aforesaid. For himself, he would not acknowledge that he had any hand therein, begging earnestly for his life, saying he was not a Massachuset man, but as a stranger lived with them. Hobbamock also gave a good report of him, and besought for him; but was bribed so to do it. Nevertheless, that we might show mercy as well as extremity, the governour released him, and the rather, because we desired he might carry a message to Obtakiest, his master. No sooner were the irons from his legs, but he would have been gone; but the governour bid him stay, and fear not, for he should receive no hurt; and by Hobbamock commanded him to deliver his message to his master: That for our parts it never entered into our hearts to take such a course with them, till their own treachery enforced us thereunto; and therefore they might thank themselves for their own overthrow: Yet since he had begun, if again by any the like courses he did provoke him, his country should not hold him; for he would never suffer him or his to rest in peace, till he had utterly consumed them; and therefore should take this as a warning. Further, that

that he should send to Patuxet the three Englishmen he had, and not kill them: also that he should not spoil the pale and houses at Wichaguscusset; and that his messenger should either bring the English, or an answer, or both; promising his safe return.

65. This message was delivered, and the party would have returned with an answer, but was at first dissuaded by them, whom afterwards they would, but could not persuade to come to us. At length, though long, a woman came and told us, that Obtakiest was sorry that the English were killed, before he heard from the governour; otherwise he would have sent them. Also she said, he would fain make his peace again with us; but none of his men durst come to treat about it, having forsaken his dwelling, and daily removed from place to place, expecting when we would take further vengeance on him.

66. Concerning those other people, that intended to join with the Massachuseuks against us, though we never went against any of them; yet this sudden and unexpected execution, together with the just judgment of God upon their own guilty consciences, hath so terrified and amazed them, as in like manner they forsook their houses, running to and fro like men distracted, living in swamps and other desert places, and so brought manifold diseases amongst themselves, whereof very many are dead; as Canacum, the sachim of Manomet; Aspinet, the sachim of Nauset; and Ianough, sachim of Mattachiest. This sachim in his life, in the midst of these distractions, said the God of the English was offended with them, and would destroy them in his anger: and certainly it is strange to hear how many of late have, and still daily die amongst them; neither is there any likelihood it will easily cease; because through fear they set little or no corn, which is the staff of life, and without which they cannot long preserve health and strength. From one of these places a boat was sent with presents to the governour, hoping thereby to work their peace; but the boat was cast away, and three of the persons drowned, not far from our plantation. Only one escaped, who durst not come to us, but returned; so as none of them dare come amongst us.

67. The month of April being now come, on all hands we

we began to prepare for corn. And because there was no corn left before this time, save that was preserved for seed, being also hopeless of relief by supply, we thought best to leave off all other works, and prosecute that as most necessary. And because there was *no* (31) small hope of doing good, in that common course of labour that formerly we were in; for that the governours, that followed men to their labours, had nothing to give men for their necessities, and therefore could not so well exercise that command over them therein, as formerly they had done; especially considering that self love wherewith every man, in a measure more or less, loveth and preferreth his own good before his neighbours, and also the base disposition of some drones, that, as at other times, so now especially would be most burdenous to the rest; it was therefore thought best that every man should use the best diligence he could for his own preservation, both in respect of the time present, and to prepare his own corn for the year following; and bring in a competent portion for the maintenance of publick officers, fishermen, &c. which could not be freed from their calling without greater inconveniences. This course was to continue till harvest, and then the governours to gather in the appointed portion, for the maintenance of themselves and such others, as necessity constrained to exempt from this condition.

68. In the midst of April we began to set, the weather being then seasonable, which much encouraged us, giving us good hopes of after plenty. The setting season is good till the latter end of May. But it pleased God, for our further chastisement, to send a great drought; insomuch as in six weeks after the later setting there scarce fell any rain; so that the stalk of that was first set began to send forth the ear, before it came to half growth, and that which was later, not like to yield any at all, both blade and stalk hanging the head, and changing the colour in such a manner, as we judged it utterly dead. Our beans also ran not up according to their wonted manner, but stood at a stay, many being parched away, as though they had been scorched before the fire. Now were our hopes overthrown, and we discouraged, our joy being turned into mourning. 69. To

(31) The word *no* appears to be an errour of the press.

69. To add also to this sorrowful estate in which we were, we heard of a supply that was sent unto us many months since, which having two repulses before, was a third time in company of another ship three hundred leagues at sea, and now in three months time heard no further of her; only the signs of a wreck were seen on the coast, which could not be judged to be any other than the same.

70. These and the like considerations moved not only every good man privately to enter into examination with his own estate between God and his conscience, and so to humiliation before him; but also more solemnly to humble ourselves together before the Lord by fasting and prayer. To that end a day was appointed by publick authority, and set apart from all other employments; hoping that the same God, which had stirred us up hereunto, would be moved hereby in mercy to look upon us, and grant the request of our dejected souls, if our continuance there might any way stand with his glory and our good. But, O the mercy of our God! who was as ready to hear, as we to ask: For though in the morning, when we assembled together, the heavens were as clear, and the drought as like to continue as ever it was; yet our exercise continuing some eight or nine hours, before our departure, the weather was overcast, the clouds gathered together on all sides, and on the next morning, distilled such soft, sweet, and moderate showers of rain, continuing some fourteen days, and mixed with such seasonable weather, as it was hard to say, whether our withered corn, or drooping affections, were most quickened and revived: Such was the bounty and goodness of our God. Of this the Indians, by means of Hobbamock, took notice; who being then in the town, and this exercise in the midst of the week, said, It was but three days since sunday; and therefore demanded of a boy, what was the reason thereof. Which when he knew, and saw what effects followed thereupon, he and all them admired the goodness of our God towards us, that wrought so great a change in so short a time; showing the difference between their conjuration, and our invocation on the name of God for rain; theirs being mixed with such storms

storms and tempests, as sometimes, instead of doing them good, it layeth the corn flat on the ground, to their prejudice; but ours in so gentle and seasonable a manner, as they never observed the like.

71. At the same time Captain Standish, being formerly employed by the governour, to buy provisions for the refreshing of the colony, returned with the same, accompanied with one M. David Tomson, a Scotchman, who also that spring began a plantation twenty-five leagues north-east from us, near Smith's isles, at a place called Pascatoquack, where he liketh well. Now also heard we of the third repulse that our supply had, of their safe, though dangerous, return into England, and of their preparations to come to us. So that having these many signs of God's favour and acceptation, we thought it would be great ingratitude, if secretly we should smother up the same, or content ourselves with private thanksgiving for that, which by our private prayer could not be obtained. And therefore another solemn day was set apart for that end; wherein we returned glory, honour, and praise, with all thankfulness, to our good God, which dealt so graciously with us; whose name for these and all his other mercies towards his church and chosen ones, by them be blessed and praised, now and evermore. Amen.

72. In the latter end of July, and the beginning of August, came two ships with supply unto us; who brought all their passengers, except one, in health, who recovered in short time; who, notwithstanding all our wants and hardship, blessed be God! found not any one sick person amongst us at the plantation. The bigger ship, called the Anne, was hired, and there again freighted back; from whence we set sail the tenth of September (32). The lesser, called the Little James, was built for the company at their charge. She was now also fitted for trade and discovery to the southward of Cape Cod, and almost ready to set sail; whom I pray God to bless in her good and lawful proceedings.

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(32) Mr. Winslow went in this ship to England, as agent for the colony, and there published this Narrative. (Belkn. Biog. II. 299.) To it he subjoined an account of the manners and customs, the religious opinions and ceremonies of the Indians; which is inserted in the Appendix to the IId. vol. of Belknap's Biography.

## Memoirs of the Rev. Dr. Thacher.

*IT is one of the regulations of the Historical Society to collect an account of the life and writings of their members as they leave the present sublunary state. Several worthy members have died since the publication of our seventh volume, of whom* biographical Notices *have been given in these pages. When this volume was nearly finished, the death of Dr. Thacher was announced by a vessel from Georgia, a character of him was written in the newspapers, and an Eulogy delivered in the Church of Brattle-Street by Mr. Emerson, but it was judged proper by the Committee to present some Memoirs of so distinguished a member in this volume of our Collections. The short notice which we had, and the few leaves which are spared for the purpose must be our apology, if the account be not sufficiently marked with the lines of his character; or the documents be not complete enough to make the Memoirs worthy the publick acceptance.*

PETER THACHER, D. D. was the son of Oxenbridge Thacher, Esq. of Boston, a lawyer of eminence, who died in the midst of his reputation and usefulness. His amiable moral character is remembered by the present generation, and his name frequently mentioned in terms of very high esteem.* Dr. Thacher was his eldest son, thirteen

* O. Thacher graduated at Harvard College, A. D. 1738. He died July 8th, 1765, aged 45, at that time one of the four representatives in the General Court for the town of Boston. He was a learned man, and a good writer. He published two pamphlets, one, 1760, *On the Gold Coin.* Another, 1764, *The sentiments of a British American*, occasioned by *Act to lay certain duties in the British colonies and plantations.*

He was the son of O. Thacher, Esq. who was many years one of the Selectmen of Boston, and representative to the General Court. This gentleman removed to Milton, his native place, was several years representative from that town, and died, A. D. 1772, ætat. 93 years. He graduated 1698, and for many years his name was in the catalogue, as the first among the living. He was son of the Rev. Peter Thacher of Milton, who graduated A. D. 1671, and was pastor of Milton church, near forty-seven years. He died A. D. 1727, ætat. 77.

Dr. Cotton Mather preached his funeral sermon, which was reprinted A. D. 1796, with an excellent sermon, upon the death of Mr. Robbins, by his great-grandson the Rev. Thomas Thacher of Dedham.

This Peter Thacher married a daughter of John Oxenbridge, pastor of the First

thirteen years of age when his father died, and then a student of the publick Grammar School. He was born at Milton, March 21, 1752, the family having retired from Boston on account of the small pox, which during that season, spread through the town. There were manifest indications of a serious mind when he was very young, so that it was observed concerning him that he never was a child. He certainly preferred books of piety, and the conversation of persons older than himself to the diversions

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First Church in Boston, one of the ejected ministers in England A. D. 1662. He was a celebrated divine. In one of the papers found in the Plantation Office, lately published in *Chalmers' Political Annals*, there is an Account of Men and Things in Massachusetts, supposed to be written by Randolph a spy of the Court. One article is, *Popular preachers*,—Thomas Thacher, John Oxenbridge, John Higginson.—Mr. Oxenbridge died suddenly, A. D. 1674, four years from his ordination.

Thomas Thacher was the first minister of the Old South Church. He was installed Feb. 16, 1670, and died 1678, during the month of October. President Stiles speaks of him as the best Arabick scholar known in this country. Where he obtained this information is uncertain. In the *Magnalia*, his oriental learning is mentioned, and we are told that he composed a Hebrew Lexicon, but his knowledge of Arabick is unnoticed. His parents designed him for the university of Oxford or Cambridge, but he chose to come over to America; and arrived at Boston, June 4, 1635. The same year he was wonderfully preserved from shipwreck on an island between Ipswich and Marblehead. His uncle Anthony Thacher being there cast ashore, called it Thacher's Isle, and it has bore the name ever since. A very particular account of this shipwreck is preserved in Dr. I. Mather's *Remarkable Providences*. It is a *letter* written from Anthony Thacher to his brother Peter, minister of Sarum, in England, the father of Thomas. Young Thacher left his uncle at Ipswich, and travelled the journey by land. The author of the Magnalia says, "That he had a strong and sad impression upon his mind about the issue of the voyage, that he, with another, must needs go the journey by land, and so he escaped perishing with some of his pious and precious friends by sea." He studied divinity with the famous president Chauncy; and was ordained at Weymouth, Jan. 2. 1664. He married the daughter of Ralph Partridge, the first minister of Duxbury; hence the family of Thacher every way is ancient and respectable in New-England. After the death of his wife, Mr. Thacher came to Boston, where he resided and practised physick, when a new church was formed, of which he was chosen pastor.

The Rev. Peter Thacher, of Sarum, intended to settle in New-England; but the death of his wife altered his resolution. He was a man of sense and learning, of liberal principles, and therefore harrassed by the spiritual courts. The writer of this Memoir has seen a letter which he wrote to the bishop of the diocese, begging him to excuse him from reading certain directions of the vicar-general, which he said were against his conscience, and would tend to disturb the order of worship. In this address he says, "I never neglected the order aforesaid out of contempt of ecclesiastical discipline and jurisdiction, as has been affirmed," &c.

This will account for the puritanical zeal with which so many of the family have opposed *prelatick power*; and may be one among other causes of the strong attachment of the late worthy Dr. Thacher to good *New-England principles*.

diversions of the childish age. An uncommon gravity of deportment, and measured periods of discourse, in which it is said he imitated his father's manner, drew the attention of others, and became the subject of their remark. It was then predicted that he would be a preacher; and add another of the name to the list of worthies whose praise was in the churches.

Oxenbridge Thacher, Esq. died in 1765. He had fixed his mind upon giving his son a liberal education, but, like most professional men, more ambitious of fame than desirous of wealth, he left his family in circumstances far from affluent. But he left many friends, among them several respectable clergymen, who made every exertion to complete the education of his son at the University, and thereby preserve the literary honours of the family; whilst they showed their friendship for the man whom they loved, after his remains were in the dust. Their desires and expectations were answered; and their benevolence received a full reward in the improvement which was made by the youth who obeyed every stimulus to exercise his talents and industry. The preceptor of the school at that time was the venerable Lovel, whose opinion had its weight in every thing, and who advanced him forward one class in order that he might enter college the commencement ensuing. He was admitted a student of Harvard College, July, 1765, and received the honours of that seminary in the year 1769. He always thought that his education was too much hurried, and felt the disadvantage through life. His natural ardour led him to press forward to the busy scenes of life, and this gave a stimulus to an inclination which ought to have been corrected in his *juvenile* years. He would have had a better opportunity to lay up classick stores, and prepare his mind for those scientifick researches which unite patient inquiry with the vigour and ardour of the youthful imagination. All allowed him to possess fine talents; not only a quickness of memory and lively apprehension of things, but a certain glow of fancy, which made his conversation animated, and his compositions very interesting. He early composed sermons and essays. Divinity was his favourite study. He was more fond of visiting the schools of

of the prophets then walking in academick groves; and eagerly looked forward to the time when he should display his eloquence and evangelical zeal in the pulpit. He was more qualified to appear as a *Divine*, when he received his degree of Bachelor of Arts, than many who have studied theology through a long course of years.

After residing some months in Chelsea, as master of the Grammar School in that place, he commenced preaching, and was immediately desired to supply the pulpit in Malden. September 19th, 1770, he was ordained. Rev. Nathaniel Robbins, of Milton, delivered the sermon, which was published; Dr. Appleton gave the charge, and Dr. Eliot the fellowship of the churches.

As a preacher he was admired. His charming voice, his oratorical powers, his fluency in prayer, the pathos of his expression were applauded by serious, sensible people, and gave him uncommon eclat with the multitude. No young man ever preached to such crouded assemblies. Mr. Whitfield called him the young Elijah in his prayers, and joined in concert with their opinion, who said he was set up for the defence of the orthodoxy, for which New England had been celebrated. In principle he was a rigid Calvinist. Christians of this persuasion were eager to spread his reputation; whilst others, of different sentiments, allowed themselves a freedom of censure, and said, that his zeal for the doctrine and discipline of our fathers absorbed all his candour and prudence. They, who knew Dr. Thacher the latter part of his life, and were witnesses of his liberality and moderation; his affection for good men of all denominations; his charity, which was not a milkiness of candour, like compassion for persons in error, but a sentiment implying that they have a right to think differently;—they who have conversed with him, and heard him censure bigotry, in all its haggard shapes, may wonder how such a man could be contracted in his views and uncharitable in his sentiments; but a little knowledge of human nature acquaints us, that men of excellent hearts may be zealous overmuch, and that even a spirit of bigotry may be blended with christian benevolence. For a while it will have influence, till reading, observation, and a more liberal view of the scriptures expand

pand the soul with rational ideas of religion, and a proper acquaintance with mankind.

Among those divines who blazed in the cause of freedom, when the controversy began with Great Britain, Dr. Thacher was conspicuous. He was zealous; his ardour was manifested in the pulpit, in conversation, in making particular addresses, and even joining a military corps. No person could relate more accurately the transactions of the 19th of April, 1775, a day which seemed big with important events to this country, which filled every mind with earnest expectations, and every heart with emotions of resentment or sorrow. Having put himself under the command of the military officer of the town, he was ordered to remain at home, that he might serve the cause of humanity in the line of his profession.

On the 5th of March, 1776, he was requested, by a number of the inhabitants of Boston, to pronounce the oration *against standing armies*, which had been annually delivered in the Old South Church, to commemorate a scene of horror exhibited on the evening of that day, 1770. The people assembled in the church at Watertown, and were gratified with hearing the subject handled by so popular an orator. These orations have since been collected into a volume by the title of *Boston Orations.*

In the year 1780, a convention assembled at Cambridge, and afterwards in Boston, to form a constitution for the state of Massachusetts. Dr. Thacher made one of this respectable body. Several towns beside Malden sent their minister for their delegate. It is well known that many came to this convention with more democratick sentiments than they held afterwards, as they grew better acquainted with the prudence of laws and policy of government. The clergy were generally strong republicans. Some of them opposed two branches in the legislature. Dr. Thacher was the leader in the debate, *Whether there should be a governour?*—After it had been decided that there should be an executive magistrate with this name, he still made a particular objection to the title of *Excellency.* He was afterwards warmly attached to the constitution, and especially to those parts of it which did not at first meet his approbation. He would frequently relate the progress of his mind to a difference

ference of opinion; for he was fully convinced that they were wiser statesmen who resisted the tide of prejudice, and secured our political ark from the violence of the popular gale.

When the constitution of the *United States* was adopted he was among its warmest admirers.

The last seventeen years of Dr. Thacher's life was spent in Boston. He was installed minister of Brattle Street Church, January 12, 1785. The Rev. David Osgood of Medford preached the sermon, Dr. Lathrop gave the *Charge*, Dr. Clarke the Right Hand of Fellowship.

He was a useful labourer in this pleasant spot of the Lord's vineyard, fond of delivering practical truths, but at times explaining the doctrines of our religion with clearness. In prayer he was ready, earnest, and devout. If concise, very expressive; if extended beyond the common forms of address, not abounding in vain repetitions.

The University of Edinburgh conferred upon him the degree of Doctor in Divinity. This of itself is no special evidence of learning. Some of our greatest divines, unconnected with friends of wealth, cannot look abroad for honours which their merit claims. The title has lost its *professional* distinction in this country. Our clergy rank according to the time they leave the university. But Dr. Thacher was known to several divines of Edinburgh, and they manifested their respect for him, by placing his name in the commission they made out, appointing a *Corresponding board* in Boston, *for propagating the gospel among the Indians in North America.*

The funds of the London Society had been strangely diverted from their original purpose, but the funds in Scotland were safely preserved by the care and prudence of the trustees, who still apply them unto this sacred use.

Dr. Thacher was an active member of this board, and also of the society connected with it, and incorporated by our General Court, A. D. 1787. Of these societies, he was chosen secretary, after the resignation of the late Professor Wigglesworth.

The Historical Society was instituted A. D. 1791. Among the first members we find the name of Dr. Thacher. He was one of the select committee for the year 1802; and also of the committee for the publication of the present volume.

volume. Certain materials were to be prepared by him, but his health declining, he was unable to proceed. He requested the other gentlemen of the committee to excuse him from all care by doing his present duty; promising to double his diligence some future time, if God should spare his life. They cheerfully took the labour upon themselves; and they now drop the tear of friendship, regretting the loss of their much loved associate.

It would be wrong to omit certain traits in the character of Dr. Thacher, which show his moral worth.

He was a man of singular integrity. A stranger to artifice and deceit, he could not disguise his feelings, but expressed often his disapprobation of them in others. He preferred to have his manners styled rough, and his plainness of speech censured by his acquaintance, rather than be thought capable of duplicity in his words and actions. A polite address, an unassuming air, a winning manner have their attractions; but nothing can make up for the want of honesty:—and how do people lose their sincerity and practise deception for the sake of a distinction among those who lead the fashions of the age!

As a friend, he had the confidence of those who knew him; those who were most intimate will preserve in their memories the tokens of his affection or kindness. If, in the exuberance of unguarded familiarity, he said any thing to hurt their feelings, it gave him pain, for he meant not to be uncourteous.

His talents for conversation were remarkable. Some have thought he exerted these too often, and in publick speaking took too large a share of the debate; but when he had been too *slow* to hear and *quick* to speak, he was sensible of his error, and disposed to make either a serious or a facetious apology. He was fond of anecdotes, especially such as illustrated the manners of New-England. In the history of Massachusetts, civil and ecclesiastical, he was more than commonly versed, having read it from his childhood. And also that part of the history of England, which exhibits the folly and tyranny of the Stuarts; the usurpation of Cromwell; and the brief authority of the *Commonwealth*. The essays, sermons, and memoirs of those times he could quote from the manly testimonies of Ludlow to the crude excrescences of Goodwin and Hugh Peters.

The

The Doctor did not encourage dry, argumentative discussions in social interviews; yet while others debated, he would frequently throw in a luminous observation, which kept the subject from being darkened by words of uncertain meaning.

His perceptions were very quick, his mind active,—his activity was manifested in many busy scenes, especially when he was an officer of publick institutions. He served several in an official capacity;—and to all he was a most useful member.

In the state of Massachusetts, especially in the metropolis, there are many institutions for pious and charitable purposes; for the promotion of literature; the encouragement of science and the arts. Gentlemen who interest themselves in the concerns of these institutions, and have a warm attachment to the objects, may enjoy the satisfaction of knowledge and the pleasures of goodness. Dr. Thacher was a member of the Charitable Fire Society, a trustee of the Humane Society, was a proprietor of the Town Library, all which he aided according to his ability. He was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and one of the council of the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society for the relief of destitute widows and children of deceased Ministers. This society was incorporated May 24, 1786, and the President of the University, who is also President of this body, preached a sermon upon the benefit of the institution. The sermon was delivered in Brattle Street Church, and a collection made. In the year 1795, Dr. Thacher preached the sermon which was printed with some account of the institution.

At the last Convention of Ministers the Doctor was moderator, and delivered the *Concio ad Clerum*, May 27, 1802. It was a solemn and affecting sermon, and by his manner of addressing the Brethren he seemed to have some premonition that his departure was at hand. His lungs had been affected some time, but his friends indulged the hope of a return of health, to which journies in the pleasant season apparently contributed. During the summer his pulmonary complaints increased, and he was unable to preach more than half the day. His people were ready to ease him of his labours every way in their power, and when the physicians recommended the milder air of the southern states, they cheerfully defrayed the expense of the voyage. Their charity flowed from the heart, and their conduct did honour to their feelings, and to the cause of religion and humanity. He sailed from Boston, in the month of November, for Savannah, and died on the 16th of December in that city.

Note.—The father and grand-father of Dr. Thacher had been preachers of the gospel before they entered other professions. An old lady of Milton, who lately died, aged 85, recollected hearing sermons from Thachers of five generations in direct succession: Mr. Thacher of Milton; his son, and grandson Oxenbridge; the late Dr. Thacher, and his son the minister of Lynn; beside collateral branches of the family. The elder Oxenbridge preached the first sermon that was delivered to the settlers at Punkapog, now Stoughton. One of the old settlers of the place, in a kind of rapture, addressed Rev. T. Thacher of Dedham, upon hearing him preach—"Your grand-father Oxenbridge was the first man that brought a bible among us."

We regret not having room for a List of Dr. Thacher's Publications. For these vid. Mr. Emerson's Funeral Sermon.

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